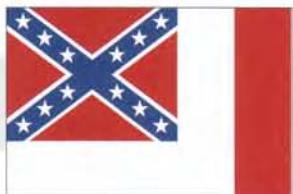


6 | Appendices







CONFEDERATE STATES

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: Confederate States

Location:	East Central North America, bordering both the Atlantic and Gulf of México
Area:	431,757 square miles
Border Countries:	United States, Republic of Texas
Climate:	Warm temperate ranging to subtropical
Terrain:	Low mountains in east, swampy coastal plains along gulf coast
Natural Resources:	Small deposits of iron and coal, extremely fertile agricultural land

People: Confederate States

Population:	9,172,305
Ethnic Groups:	White 54%, Black 46%
Religions:	Protestant 80%, Roman Catholic 17%
Languages:	English 83%, Spanish 17%

Government: Confederate States

Country Name:	Confederate States of America
Government Type:	Confederacy
Capital:	Richmond
Administrative Districts:	12 states
Independence:	December 3, 1851 from United States
Chief of State:	President Zebulon Vance

Economy: Confederate States

Economic Overview:	The Confederate economy is dominated by export oriented plantation agriculture, very little industrialization as most manufactured goods purchased from overseas, minor domestic iron works and fabrication facilities in northeast, subsistence farming prevalent in back country
Exports:	Cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice
Export Partners:	France, Britain
Currency:	Confederate Dollar (1 oz. gold = \$CS 113.68) (1 oz. silver = \$CS 7.10)

Military: Confederate States

Military Branches:	Army and Navy
Standing Forces:	150,000

Transnational Issues: Confederate States

Disputes – International:	The C.S. claims ownership of all pre-war territory belonging to Arkansas and Tennessee, cavalier attitude towards Mexican sovereignty has raised threat of war
Alliances:	Aligned with France

The South Today

The Southern War of Independence, while establishing the sovereignty of the Confederate States of America, did so at a terrible cost. Untold thousands of her young men were killed in that conflict and many more were permanently disabled or disfigured.

More insidious was the damage done to the nation's institutions. Wartime necessity betrayed many of the ideals for which the conflict was extensively fought over. The tyrant in Washington was merely traded for a new master in Richmond.

The secession of western Louisiana to Texas, an act that the national authorities were powerless to prevent, prompted fears that other states would follow when they deemed it to be in their best interests. The government was bankrupt at the close of hostilities yet saddled with enormous responsibilities. Union troops were still entrenched in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Arkansas. To secure the borders meant permanently garrisoning large numbers of soldiers along the northern frontier. Naturally this did not sit well with the men called upon to perform such service. Many were volunteers eager to return to farm and family. Desertions were rampant prompting harsh discipline and the eventual nationalization of all state militias and locally raised units into the Confederate States Army headquartered in Richmond.

With their hopes for emancipation dashed and with the certain knowledge that they no longer risked repatriation should they escape to the United States, slaves attempted to escape their masters in unprecedented numbers. Whites in the deep south feared a general slave uprising – a genuine fear as much of the region's able-bodied men were either dead, disabled or deployed. The paranoia became so pervasive that many regions reverted to martial law as Army troops were sent in to quell revolts and keep order.

It was hoped that the end of hostilities would bring about an economic renaissance as once again world markets would be open to the cotton, tobacco and sugar cane that had previously formed the basis of the southern export economy. Such was not the case. The new cotton acreage brought under cultivation in Texas, Sequoyah, Kansas, Egypt and India during the war led to falling prices as Confederate supply once again became available. By 1858, prices had fallen to two-thirds that of the pre-war period with little hope of recovery.

Continual functioning of the government and debt service required sums vastly in excess of those collected prior to independence. Tax burdens, including an unprecedented tax on income, became onerous leading to grumbling in the state legislatures and open talk of a second secession by Cuba.

Through the use of emergency executive powers, President Alexander Stephens instituted various measures that aggregated Richmond's control of the state to an unprecedented extent. In response to widespread evasion, revenue agents were given broad discretion with regards to tax evaders, and their powers were backed

by the military. To maintain a firm hand in Cuba, a naval base was built in Havana and garrisoned by troops from Virginia and the Carolinas. Now with the power of the purse and the sword firmly in Richmond's control, future notions of dissent were effectively stifled.

Given the Confederacy's inevitable position with an entrenched enemy to the north, an alienated population to the west and weak internal finances, they are casting an avaricious eye to México's insecure northern frontier. In an unprecedented diplomatic move, they have claimed Nuevo México as Confederate territory. This has caused a diplomatic row with both the USA and Texas (who though plotting such a move themselves have been more reticent in their official positions) and led to near open hostilities with México.

CSA policy is to encourage migration to Nuevo México and Alta California. This serves a two-fold purpose. Domestically, it acts as a safety valve for the most disaffected of her population. Strategically, facilitating the resettlement of Southerners to the territory and supporting their claims with official recognition and incorporation of their towns, the Confederacy hopes to lay de facto claim to the territory.

Southern Attitudes

There can be no disputing that the past decade has been one of economic distress for the average Southerner. Hunger and violence have touched far too many of them not to have left a permanent mark on the national psyche.

To outsiders, they come across as angry, hard-bitten men. Many feel personally vindicated in that they successfully resisted the destruction of their traditional way of life and most are adamant about their Southern virtues, even those who previously may not have held such resolute faith in Dixie. Most of their anger is directed at Northerners for starting the war that caused such economic hardships. Texicans are hardly viewed in a better light. Many see them as fair-weather friends who stood idly by while their cousins were bled white by the Federals and finally stabbed them in the back by taking Louisiana while they lay prostrate. One would think that the French, integral to the Confederacy's eventual freedom, would be seen most positively but that's hardly the case. Differences in language and culture ensured that the two allies never fully warmed to each other. The price of New Orleans for their aid also tainted the relationship, making it seem as if they were merely paid mercenaries rather than the benevolent Republicans of Lafayette.





DESERET

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: Deseret

Location: West Central North America, roughly centered on the Great Salt Lake
Area: 125,680 square miles (claimed)
Land Boundaries: Deseret's claims lie entirely within the Mexican District of Alta California and the United States' Oregon Territory
Climate: Semiarid to arid with mild winters in lower inhabited elevations
Terrain: Mountainous north with Alpine-like river valleys, arid desert in south
Natural Resources: Copper, other ores, timber

People: Deseret

Population: 86,044
Ethnic Groups: White 99%
Religions: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 99%
Languages: English

Government: Deseret

Country Name: State of Deseret
Government Type: Representative Democracy (Theocracy)
Capital: Great Salt Lake City
Administrative Districts: 6 counties
Founding: July 24, 1847
Chief of State: President Brigham Young

Economy: Deseret

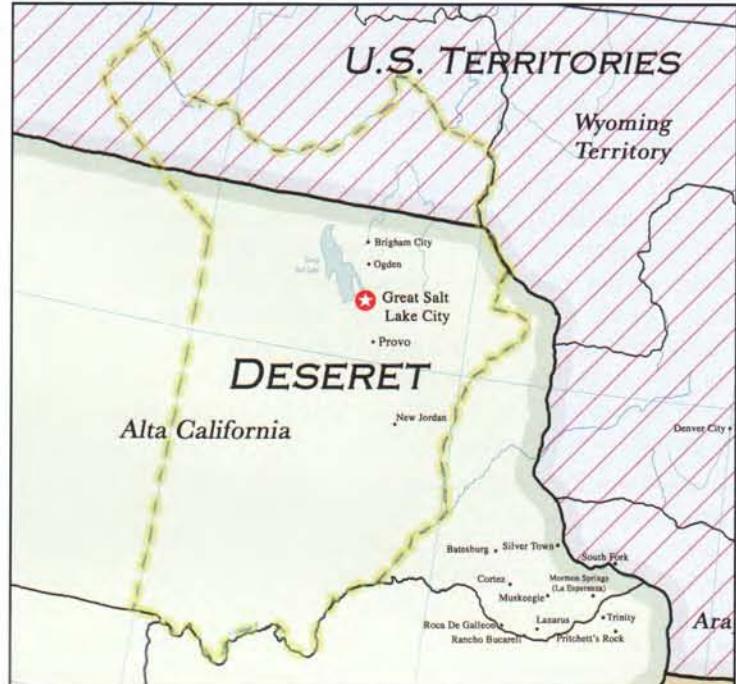
Economic Overview: Deseret engages in self-sustaining agricultural and handicraft production. Imports are discouraged and trade with non-church members is forbidden. All external commerce handled through church-controlled Zion Cooperative Mercantile Institution.
Exports: None
Currency: Mormon Dollar
 (1 oz. gold = \$M 16.00)
 (1 oz. silver = \$M 1.00)
 Mormon coins are notable for .99 fine metal content. Significant 'barter script' in circulation.

Military: Deseret

Military Branches: Nauvoo Legion (militia)
Standing Forces: Unknown

Transnational Issues: Deseret

Disputes – International: Deseret asserts a territorial claim to broad stretches of land principally within the Mexican District of Alta California but also overlapping the United States' Oregon Territory. Neither nation recognizes said claims nor the legitimacy of Deseret.
Disputes – National: Conflict periodically erupts with the Shoshone and Ute peoples displaced by Mormon settlement.
Alliances: Deseret is recognized as a sovereign nation by the Confederate States of America. Diplomatic missions have been exchanged and a mutually beneficial exchange of arms for hard currency exists.



As a result of their persecution, the Mormons have become a closed society suspicious of strangers. Well-armed units of the Nauvoo Legion regularly patrol all approaches to the Great Salt Lake basin and are brusque with travelers. The few non-Mormons who enter Deseret are closely watched and made to feel unwelcome.

It is, however, a tenant of the faith that all Mormons must go out into the world and proselytize. As such, Mormons are often encountered throughout the Shattered Frontier. They are wary to stay clear of Mexican authorities as an encounter is more likely than not to end in gunfire. Most Yankees fear the Mormons whom they regard as dangerous murdering zealots. The Confederacy, however, views the Mormons as potential allies. Their cold war with both México and the United States, both rivals to Richmond's planned expansion in the area, serves as a vital distraction. Indeed, they are the only North American power to recognize Deseret's claim to national sovereignty as legitimate and as such maintain some measure of a trading relationship with the Mormon state. The Texicans have had little direct contact with Deseret and for the most part see them as someone else's problem.

MÉXICO



Nueva España was the crown jewel of Spain's colonies and comprised the territories of present day México, the Republic of Texas (save for the recent addition of Louisiana), California, the Spanish Caribbean islands, and Central America up to and including Costa Rica. Spanish landowners and their white descendants dominated most of this land. It was heavily taxed, ruled directly from Spain, and permitted no autonomy.

The seeds of Mexican independence were planted when Napoleon conquered Spain in 1808. When the French Emperor placed his brother on the Spanish throne, México's elite began to clamor for self-rule. An unlikely alliance was thus formed. Mexican Conservadores and rich landowners who supported Spain's deposed Bourbons and objected to the comparatively more liberal Napoleonic policies joined forces with Liberales who favored a democratic México. These two elements agreed only that México must achieve independence and determine her own destiny.

The war for independence started September 15, 1810, and was instigated by Miguel de Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest of Spanish descent. Though he was eventually captured and executed, Hidalgo's leadership began a war of independence that culminated on September 27, 1821, when the rebel leader Vicente Guerrero and the royalist Agustín de Iturbide signed the Treaty of Cordoba.

De Iturbide, a former Spanish general who switched sides to fight for Mexican independence, proclaimed himself emperor – officially as a temporary measure until a member of European royalty could be persuaded to become monarch of México. A revolt against Iturbide in 1823 established the United Mexican States and in 1824 Guadalupe Victoria became the first president of the new country.

The wars of independence and the chaos that followed ruined the nation's economy and destroyed the legitimacy of its institutions. Between 1821 and 1850 only the first president, Guadalupe Victoria, completed his term of office. His success was primarily attributable to the two large foreign loans negotiated in 1824 and 1825 that gave his administration financial latitude. During the next twenty years the Republic endured three constitutions, twenty governments, and more than 100 cabinets. As succeeding administrations proved unable to maintain order and protect lives and property, the country sank into anarchy. Fear and uncertainty became commonplace. Ex-soldiers turned bandits infested the highways, obstructing commerce and threatening small towns. These, and other manifestations of social dissolution, contributed to México's instability. The situation worsened when political conflict degenerated into outright civil war in 1834.

Large sections of the country were ravaged as federalists and centralists, liberals and conservatives fought for political control. During 1835-1845, secessionists established the republics of Yucatan, Texas, and the Rio Grande, but only Texas managed to consolidate its independence. The other regions, however, maintained their autonomy, if not their independence, from the national government by force of arms.

Machinations of men such as Santa Anna certainly contributed to México's instability. In 1828 he used his military influence to lift the losing candidate into the presidency, being rewarded in turn with appointment as the highest-ranking general in the land. His reputation and influence were further strengthened by his critical role in defeating an 1829 Spanish effort to reconquer their former colony.

In 1833 Santa Anna was overwhelmingly elected President of México. Unfortunately, what began as a promise to unite the nation soon deteriorated into chaos. From 1833 to 1855 México had no fewer than thirty-six changes in its presidency; Santa Anna himself holding the office eleven times. He soon became bored in his first presidency, leaving the real work

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: México

Location: Central North America, bordering both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans,
Area: 1,165,224 square miles
Land Boundaries: Republic of Texas (NE), US (north)
Climate: Varies from tropical to desert
Terrain: High, rugged mountains; low coastal plains; high plateaus; desert
Natural Resources: Silver, gold, timber

People: México

Population: 9,250,000
Nationality: Mexican
Ethnic Groups: Mestizo 50%, Spanish 12%, Indian 35%, Black 3%
Religions: Roman Catholic (official)
Languages: Spanish (official), native languages spoken by many inhabitants esp. in south

Government: México

Country Name: Empire of México
Government Type: Monarchy
Capital: México City
Administrative Districts: 21 Departments
Independence: September 16, 1810 (from Spain)
Chief of State: Maximilian I, Emperor of México

Economy: México

Economic Overview: The current civil war has significantly disrupted economic activity, silver mining - the principal source of foreign exchange operates at one-fifth the level of a decade past, most areas reduced to subsistence agriculture
Exports: Silver
Export Partners: US, Spain
Currency: Peso, older Real in circulation
(1 oz. gold = 16 Pesos)
(1 oz. silver = 1 Peso)

Military: México

Military Branches: Imperial Army
Standing Forces: Exact figures unknown

Transnational Issues: México

Disputes – International: México considers Deseret territorial claims to be illegal and its residents outlaw squatters, numerous towns within Alta California and Nuevo México that claim allegiance to the United States, the Confederate States or Texas are equally regarded as illegal settlements
Alliances: The Emperor is strongly aligned to France and to Britain and Spain to a lesser degree, the Juarez rebels dispute these alliances as illegal

to his vice-president who soon launched an ambitious reform of church, state and army. In 1835, when the proposed reforms infuriated vested interests in the army and church, Santa Anna reasserted his authority and led a military coup against his own government.

Santa Anna's repudiation of México's 1824 constitution and substitution of a much more centralized and less democratic form of government was instrumental in sparking the Texican secession, for it ultimately convinced both Anglo colonists and many Mexicans in Texas that they had nothing to gain by remaining under Mexican rule. When the revolution came in 1835, Santa Anna personally led the Mexican counter-attack, enforcing a "take-no-prisoners" policy at the Alamo and ordering the execution of those captured at Goliad. In the end, however, his over-confidence and tactical carelessness allowed Sam Houston to win a crushing victory at the battle of San Jacinto.

Although his failure to suppress the Texican revolution discredited him enormously, Santa Anna was able to reestablish much of his authority when he defeated a French invasion force at Vera Cruz in 1838. His personal heroism in battle, which resulted in having several horses shot out from under him and the loss of half of his left leg, became the basis of his subsequent effort to secure his power by creating a cult of personality around himself.

Anglo settlers took further advantage of México's continuing internal turmoil when, in 1845, residents of Alta California's Sacramento valley declared an independent California Republic. Nevertheless, Santa Anna remained the most powerful individual in México until 1853, when his savage campaign against Deseret united liberal opposition against him. He was soon deposed and never again returned to political office.

In 1855, Ignacio Comonfort, leader of the Moderados (moderates), was elected president. They attempted to craft a middle ground between the nation's Liberals and Conservatives. During Comonfort's presidency a new Constitution was drafted. The Constitution of 1857 retained most of the Roman Catholic Church's Colonial era privileges and revenues but, unlike the earlier constitution, did not mandate Catholicism as the nation's exclusive religion. Such reforms were unacceptable to both the Catholic hierarchy and the Conservatives. Comonfort and his administration were excommunicated and a revolt was declared. This led to the War of Reform from December 1857 to January 1861. This civil war became increasingly bloody and polarized the nation's politics. Many of the Moderados came over to the side of the Liberales, convinced that the great political power of the Church needed to be curbed. For some time the Liberals and Conservatives had their own governments; the Conservatives in México City and the Liberals in Veracruz. The war ended with a Liberal victory and the new President Benito Juárez moved his administration to México City.

Juárez's forces were victorious, but the war bankrupted México causing it to default on its foreign debt payments. An army of intervention consisting of Spanish, English and French troops landed in México to enforce payment of the huge obligations of the Mexican republic. The Spanish and English soon withdrew, but Napoleon III retained French troops in México in order to establish a conservative, pro-French regime. To achieve this end, he decided to re-establish a monarchy. In October, 1863 a Mexican delegation of monarchists again offered the crown to Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, Prince Imperial and Archduke of Austria. He had refused their initial offer in 1859 but now bowed to Napoleon's pressure and the presumed legitimacy of a plebiscite.

Upon his arrival at Vera Cruz, he was horrified to discover that his new realm was still embroiled in civil war. The French had achieved the upper hand but the liberals and republicans were still offering bitter resistance under their President, Benito Juárez. If Maximilian was disillusioned and disappointed, his supporters were soon equally disappointed in their new emperor. The Emperador had been influenced

at an early age by progressivism and consequently upheld several liberal policies proposed by the Juárez administration, such as land reforms and religious freedoms. He cherishes the vain hope that his liberalism will enable a reconciliation of the republican opposition and has offered Juárez and his followers an amnesty if they will swear allegiance to the crown. Unfortunately, he does not seem to understand that the vast majority of Mexicans do not want an emperor, no matter how liberal.

México Today

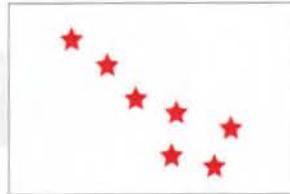
Because the country again finds itself embroiled in yet another civil war, little attention is focused on the northern states of Alta California, Nuevo México, Sonora or Chihuahua. These territories are virtually unguarded and what few officials remain are unlikely to receive aid or assistance from their national government. This vacuum of power has encouraged settlement by pioneers from Texas, the United States and the Confederacy who have become so emboldened as to plant their respective national flags on Mexican soil. In point of fact, these rogue towns are usually the only organized governments able to effectively administer large swathes of the northern Mexican states. It is common knowledge that the only effective lawmen in Nuevo México are not the Federales but rather the Texas Rangers. It is not uncommon for Mexican citizens to seek justice from the Rangers or to settle their differences in a Confederate or American town's court.

The average Mexican has endured over thirty years of intermittent civil war during which they have seen their institutions crumble and their lives become increasingly destitute. Though most would prefer to live under a Mexican flag, they are pragmatic enough to welcome anyone that can provide stability and order. As such, many are welcoming of the new immigrants to northern México and generally inclined to partake in economic opportunities that the new settlement might afford.

Of course, thirty years of civil war has produced a generation of shiftless young men, well armed and indoctrinated in violence. Many of these have drifted to the lawless north fleeing justice or seeking easy targets. Their own countrymen and white settlers alike fear these banditos.



SEQUOYAH



Sequoyah's history begins with the expulsion of the five 'civilized' tribes (the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) from their homelands in the southeastern United States. These expulsions were not a single event but rather the aggregate result of treaties, forced concessions and outright war. Prior to resettlement, the five Indian nations were distinct entities with unique cultures, languages and territory. The Choctaw were in fact enemies of the Creek and Chickasaw against whom they had fought several wars.

What set these tribes apart from their northern kin such as the Shawnee, Ottawa, Fox or Sauk was an advanced farming culture that more closely resembled that of their white neighbors. The Creek confederacy consisted of over 50 towns with a national council and a governance structure based on a mixture of democratic and communal principals. It was the Cherokee, however, that integrated white culture most fully into their own traditions.

In 1820 they adopted a republican form of government, and in 1827 they established themselves as the Cherokee Nation, with their capital at New Echota under a constitution providing for an elective principal chief, a senate, and a house of representatives. The invention of a Cherokee syllabic alphabet permitted literacy amongst the Cherokee. Its 85 characters, representing the syllables of the Cherokee language, initially allowed for the keeping of tribal records but later, once literacy became widespread, saw wide use in newspapers and translated textbooks.

The 1830s discovery of gold by whites in Cherokee territory (the Cherokee had long known of its existence and had been hoarding the precious metal for years) resulted in pressure to obtain their lands. A treaty was extracted from a small part of the tribe, binding the whole people to move beyond the Mississippi River within three years. Although the Cherokee overwhelmingly repudiated this document and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the nation's autonomy, the state of Georgia secured an order for their removal, which was accomplished by military force. President Andrew Jackson refused to intervene, and in 1838 the tribe was deported to the Indian

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: Sequoyah

Location: Central North America, between the United States and Texas
Area: 62,947 square miles
Land Boundaries: US to north, Texas to south
Climate: Mild and humid, semi-arid in NW
Terrain: Flat plains and low hills
Natural Resources: Fertile soils

People: Sequoyah

Population: 79,263
Nationality: Various Indian tribes
Ethnic Groups: Native American 85%, White 8%, Black 7%
Religions: Tribal beliefs, not properly categorized as religions per se, are practiced by a majority of Sequoyahs though a sizeable Christian minority exists
Languages: Various tribal languages are spoken though Cherokee is becoming prominent

Government: Sequoyah

Country Name: Nation of Sequoyah
Government Type: Tribal democracy
Capital: New Echota
Administrative Districts: 28 districts
Independence: December 12, 1852 from United States
Chief of State: None

Economy: Sequoyah

Economic Overview: Sequoyah's economy is dominated by subsistence agriculture though plantation growth of cotton for export has become prevalent since the States War. The establishment of a rail line between Texas and the US has allowed Sequoyah to enter the services sector and New Echota has become a rail hub specializing in cattle and supporting a wide variety of related industries
Exports: Cotton
Export Partners: United States, United Kingdom
Currency: None - foreign currency used at equivalent value

Military: Sequoyah

Military Branches: Tribal militia
Standing Forces: None

Transnational Issues: Sequoyah

Disputes - International: None
Alliances: Sequoyah disavows any political or military alliances though it has strong economic ties and linkages with both the US and Texas. The Confederacy is still viewed with suspicion though current borders and economic conditions result in little interaction between the two.

Territory. Thousands died on the march, known as the “Trail of Tears,” or from subsequent hardships.

The Cherokee made their new capital at Tahlequah, instituted a public school system, published newspapers, and quickly became the most prominent of the Five Civilized Tribes.

While the Cherokee, Choctaw and Chickasaw were uprooted from their lands with relatively little violence, the same was not true for the Creeks or Seminoles. The Creek War of 1813-14 resulted in the loss of two-thirds of their territory, while the First Seminole War of 1818 effectively banished Florida's Seminoles to the interior of that territory.

The Second Seminole War began in 1835 and dragged on for nearly eight years, until 1842 when the last Creek and Seminole tribes in Georgia and Florida were finally removed from American Territory.

Members of the Five Nations that survived these brutal years of war and relocation did their best to rebuild their shattered societies in the arid land of the Indian Territory. Less than a generation later, they once again found themselves threatened by whites seeking to take their land. Confederate militia in Missouri and Arkansas saw the Indian Territory as easy plunder and undertook to capture that territory for inclusion into the new Confederate States of America.

The tribes had, however, learned a valuable lesson from their expulsions. Under the lax eyes of the few Federal forts located in the Indian Territory, the tribes had smuggled in thousands of rifles, many purchased with gold the Cherokee had recovered before being relocated. The wisdom of this move would be validated at the Battle of Muskogee in which an army comprised of members of all five tribes repulsed the Confederate invasion.

In the aftermath of this battle, the five tribal councils sent representatives to Washington to announce their de facto sovereignty. Circumstances being what they were, the United States had little choice but to recognize the new nation of Sequoyah and accepted their promise of aid in the war against the Confederacy.

While the Sequoyahs held true to their word and sent two regiments to fight in the lower Mississippi campaign, the most dramatic effects of the war were to occur at home. The Sequoyahans took advantage of opportunities opened to them. When Britain turned to Texas for the cotton her industries required, they immediately saw the potential wealth that could be gained from participating in this seller's market. Many of the tribes had experience in cotton growing and within a year, cotton cultivation expanded from almost nothing to thousands of acres. Access to the gulf ports via the Mississippi River was blocked due to the war so cotton had to be brought to Galveston via mule-drawn carts. This was slow and costly.

The great dream was to build a rail line that would be able to provide access to the gulf ports. No American, British or Texican financiers were interested in the project so the Sequoyahans set about to build one themselves. Communal participation saw members of all five tribes, men and women alike, undertake the vast project. The last remaining Cherokee gold was sufficient to acquire the rails, but right-of-ways through Texican territory still

posed a formidable problem. Through dint of negotiation and the guarantee of free freight for any of the far-flung North Texican communities that would grant them passage, the Sequoyahans finally succeeded in building a gerrymandered rail line that connected to the fledgling Texas National Line north of Houston.

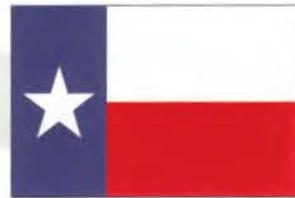
But it was not only the British that demanded cotton. New England mills were also desperate to purchase the white gold. They were, however, shut out from Texican ports by British exclusivity. Sensing another opportunity, the Sequoyahans started group work on another rail line to St. Louis – now firmly in the hands of Union forces. By the end of the War between the States, the Sequoyahan National line linked the United States with Texas via rail. Although post war prices for cotton fell dramatically, the profitability of the line did not. The advantages of a rail link to the United States were enormous and as the Texican economy expanded so did the amount of freight carried on the line. Soon beef overtook cotton as the most important cargo.

Because of the more communal economic order of Sequoyahan society, the profits were generally dispersed to the whole of the nation that had contributed to its development. Much is held in trust for future development. The experience and wealth the Sequoyahans gained in building their first rail line has allowed them to extend the reach of their network into the western territories of the United States. As Indians with a predilection to favor their own, they have faced far fewer problems with the Great Plains tribes than white settlers have experienced.

People: The great national challenges the civilized tribes have endured together from the Battle of Muskogee to the building of the railroad have bound them together as one great tribe. Though the individual tribes still govern themselves, it is likely that in the not too distant future the Sequoyahans will unite under a single Chief-President. The Cherokee language is already displacing Seminole and Choctaw due to the wide dissemination of newspapers written in that language.

The Sequoyahans have learned to be a pragmatic lot. They recognize that they will never be fully accepted by white society but that to survive they must adapt certain aspects of those cultures to retain their own. Most prefer the company of their own races, forming few close friendships with whites. That being said, many are fluent in English and certainly capable of operating within the confines of broader North American cultures. However, they retain a deep loathing of the Confederacy. Few would let their feeling show too overtly but the years of mistreatment at Southern hands makes it slow to be forgotten.

TEXAS



Despite the fact that a sizeable proportion of her most influential citizenry originally hailed from the states that were to secede and form the CSA, Texas remained officially neutral during the Southern War of Independence. Of course, numerous volunteer units fought in the Mississippi Valley campaigns under Confederate colors.

As mentioned in the historical section, the reasons for her neutrality were many. Certainly the most important was the intervention of Britain. Her textile manufacturers, with royal support and under the protection of the Imperial Navy, entered into contracts to purchase any and all cotton Texican growers could supply. Agreeing to these terms put the young nation at odds with her eastern neighbor, whose self-imposed cotton embargo was meant to draw Britain into the conflict on the Confederate side.

The war years were, ironically, a time of great prosperity for the young nation and a period in which she began to solidify a national identity. The influx of British sterling and investment jump-started development and Galveston was transformed into a first class seaport.

The British influence had other far-reaching effects in Texas. Under pressure from a British Parliament uneasy with such close relation to a slave holding nation, Texas abolished the institution in 1860.

Texas Today

The Texican volunteer troops fighting in the western theater were primarily stationed in Arkansas and Mississippi. Upon enactment of the truce of 1854, most of the troops decided to return to their homes. While the volunteers disbanded their units and began the long trek home, the resi-

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: Texas

Location: South Central North America, bordering the Gulf of Mexico
Area: 360,503 square miles
Land Boundaries: Rio Grande to west, US and Sequoyah to north, Confederacy to east
Climate: Subtropical along gulf coast, increasing arid as one travels west
Terrain: Broad coastal plain in SE, rough and intermittent mountainous terrain in west
Natural Resources: Farm and grazing land, timber

People: Texas

Population: 1,439,358
Nationality: Texican
Ethnic Groups: White 33%, Mestizo 30%, Black 33%, Indian 4%
Religions: Protestant 60%, Roman Catholic 40%
Languages: English 70%, Spanish 30%

Government: Texas

Country Name: Republic of Texas
Government Type: Republic
Capital: Washington
Administrative Districts: 30 counties
Independence: October 13, 1845 from México
Chief of State: President Richard Coke

Economy: Texas

Economic Overview: The War between the States offered a unique opportunity for Texas' cotton planters to both prosper and to establish inroads into the lucrative British market. Contraction of that market has been more than compensated by a huge new market made available for beef. West Texas is undergoing an economic boom as vast stretch of land are being developed for this industry.
Exports: Beef, cotton, rice
Export Partners: United Kingdom, United States, France
Currency: Texican Dolares
(1 oz. gold = \$TX 32.00)
(1 oz. silver = \$TX 2.00)

Military: United States

Military Branches: Army, Navy and Rangers
Standing Forces: Approximately 600 Rangers

Transnational Issues: United States

Disputes – International: Official demarcation and ownership of the Santa Fe trail remains an open issue with the United States. Texas has allowed its Rangers to operate as lawmen within Nuevo México due to general lawlessness. México strongly disputes their authority but is powerless to contend their presence or to properly administer the district.
Alliances: Texas is aligned with the United Kingdom and dependant upon the Royal Navy to ensure the neutrality of the Guf of Mexico.

dents of Louisiana revolted against their government in Richmond and sought to join Texas instead of simply turning over New Orleans and its surrounding territory to the French. The Confederate government sent troops to quell the disturbances but they were met by the Texican volunteers. These former brothers-in-arms now saw an opportunity to bears arms for their own nation, the Republic of Texas. The Cajun Wars (really just a collection of small skirmishes and guerilla activity) pitted these Texicans against Confederate troops from Arkansas and Mississippi as well as French regulars. After four months, the war weary and bankrupt Richmond administration succumbed to the insurrection and agreed to the partition of Louisiana along the Mississippi River.

Foreign observers remark that Texas is probably the most truly “American” of the three English-speaking nation states on the North American continent. Founded by frontiersmen and barely thirty years old, Texas does not have an entrenched upper class. Societal standing is extremely fluid allowing the energetic young man plenty of room to better himself and improve his lot in life. Merit is the most important determiner of social standing and Mexican born Texicans are accorded much the same opportunities as Anglos. In all strata of society, one is equally likely to encounter individuals with Spanish surnames as British ones.

Texicans on the whole are brash and forthright and not given to mincing words. Even their leaders are unusually outspoken.

As a young nation, their world view is disproportionately shaped by recent events. While many Texicans had felt a bond of kinship with the Confederacy, the frontier war with that nation has soured that bond in favor of a heightened sense of Texican unity. If anything, these two nations are now rivals, though many have not yet come to see that fact.

The discovery of gold and silver west of the Rio Grande has sparked Texicans’ interest in expansion. To them, the lands of the Shattered Frontier lie wholly within Texas’ sphere of influence (despite the fact that it is Mexican territory). The general lawlessness of the region, due in large part from inattention by México, has prompted Washington to deploy several units of Texas Rangers within the territory, nominally to protect the property and persons of its settler communities. However, they are almost uniformly recognized as the de facto authority by non-Texicans as well, for they provide the only organized policing force within the frontier and serve to check the activity of hostile Indian tribes.

Territorial claims by the CSA west of the Rio Grande have sparked a diplomatic row between the two nations. The Texican legislature has reacted to these turns of events by encouraging the growth of towns such as Santa

Fe, Albuquerque and El Paso on their western frontier and unofficially sponsoring settlement throughout Nuevo México. No official move has yet been made to recognize these towns, as Washington does not wish to provoke a war with France, the real power behind Emperador Maximiliano I De México and possessor of a formidable force in nearby New Orleans. Rather, the Texicans are laying the groundwork for an eventual fait de accompli when their settlements and substantive governance of the region will allow the entire frontier to be annexed at the stroke of a pen.

A large factor in Washington’s reticence to risk war is her lack of a standing army. From the earliest days of the Republic, the nation has encountered difficulties with rogue generals. Since President Huston furloughed the standing army in 1836, Texas has depended upon the Rangers and militia units to defend her territory. This practice has served her well, for the militia is unusually capable and experienced. Nonetheless, it is not an offensive force and its efficacy if used in that role is questionable.

Cotton continues to be the major driver of the Texican economy. However, the reentry of the Confederate States of America into the world cotton market has caused prices to fall from their artificially high war years prices. This has caused an economic recession in the Lone Star Republic and forced many marginal growers to seek alternative means of making a living. Many of these people (farmers and their hired hands) have left the gulf coast in search of better opportunities in the sparsely populated western expanses of the country.

The national government has actively, though not officially, encouraged many of its citizens hurt by the cotton crash to migrate to the west. Migrants are given free passage to Santa Fe or Albuquerque and the opportunity to be given title to land there simply by occupying and improving it for a period of two years. Of course, much of this land is barely arable and many of the settlers quickly abandon the thought of settling down in favor of seeking their fortune in the Shattered Frontier – all with a nod and wink from Washington.

Texas is still economically immature. Her natural resources are not comparable to that of the United States or the United Kingdom nor does she possess the dense urban settlements necessary for industrialization. She is dependant on those nations for most manufactured goods yet maintains a net surplus balance, such is the quantitative robustness of Texas’ farms and ranches.

UNITED STATES



Despite her loss in the War for Southern Independence, the United States remains far and away the most powerful nation in North America. Some even argue that the secession of her agrarian south may have been a boon, in that it hastened the transition to an industrial economy by severing the ties to her agrarian past.

Whatever the truth of the matter, there can be no question that the United States more closely resembles the economies of Northern Europe in rates of urbanization and proportion of the workforce engaged in industry than any other New World nation. The city of Pittsburgh is a rival to Sheffield and Dortmund as a principal manufacturer of steel, and a dense network of rail lines links the southern Great Lakes and Ohio river valley to the northeast.

The loss of southern agricultural areas has focused development on the vast central and western plains. Though not as lucrative as cotton, tobacco and sugar, corn and wheat production have been far more amenable to mechanization, and so this traditional sector of the economy has benefited greatly from industrialization and now produces a consistent surplus.

The United States does, however, face several challenges. Relations with her southern neighbor have not improved appreciably since the conclusion of the war. This may in large part be attributed to captured territory in the former western theater that the United States has refused to relinquish. Maintaining control of this territory and the construction of the "Scott Line" of fortifications on Pennsylvania's southeastern border has required a peacetime army of such magnitude that the U.S. is hard pressed to maintain it from a conscription resistant populace. The western territories are under-garrisoned and Federal Cavalry is often unable to effectively blunt the many warlike Indian Nations living therein or to decidedly eject Mormon settlements.

The United States has come of age on the international stage and is recognized as a peer among the great nations of Europe. She has strong financial ties with Britain owing to the relative immaturity of her banking system. British neutrality in the War of Southern Independence also served to mollify the ill-will resulting from the Aroostook War. French involvement on the side of the Confederacy has imbued a deep seeded resentment and the U.S. holds her as an enemy. An alliance with France's bitter rival, Prussia, was a natural outgrowth.

A long period of inward looking consolidation under the Douglass presidency has given way to a more expansionist mood under the Republican Colfax. Though unwilling and likely unable to engage in a war with México, the U.S. eyes the rich mineral wealth lying south of her western territories. With knowledge that both Texas and the CSA are casting equally envious glances at México's northern districts, the U.S. has encouraged settlement with the promise of full recognition of the rights and privileges of any of its citizens settling in the ambiguous western reaches of the Colorado and Arapahoe territories.

AT A GLANCE...

Geography: United States

Location:	Central North America, bordering both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, 2,172,973 square miles
Area:	Confederate States of America, Republic of Texas, Nation of Sequoyah, México, Dominion of Canada, other British North American possessions north of Columbia River or 48th parallel
Border Countries:	Temperate east of Mississippi River, semi-arid in western territories, wet but mild along Pacific coast
Climate:	Low mountains along eastern seaboard, vast central plain rising to rugged mountains in west
Terrain:	Coal, iron, timber, precious metals, vast fertile central plain
Natural Resources:	

People: United States

Population:	28,787,101
Nationality:	American
Ethnic Groups:	White 96%, Black 3.5%, Amerindian 0.5%
Religions:	Protestant 93%, Roman Catholic 6%, Jewish 0.4%
Languages:	English 85%, German 12%

Government: United States

Country Name:	United States of America
Government Type:	Federal Republic
Capital:	New York City
Administrative Districts:	22 States and 11 territories
Independence:	July 4, 1776 from Kingdom of Great Britain
Chief of State:	President Schuyler Colfax

Economy: United States

Economic Overview:	The United States, with its unparalleled advantages in raw materials, population and technology is unquestionably the leading economic power in the Americas.
Exports:	Manufactured goods and equipment, cereal grains, processed meats, textiles
Currency:	US Dollar (1 oz. gold = \$US 20.67) (1 oz. silver = \$US 1.29)

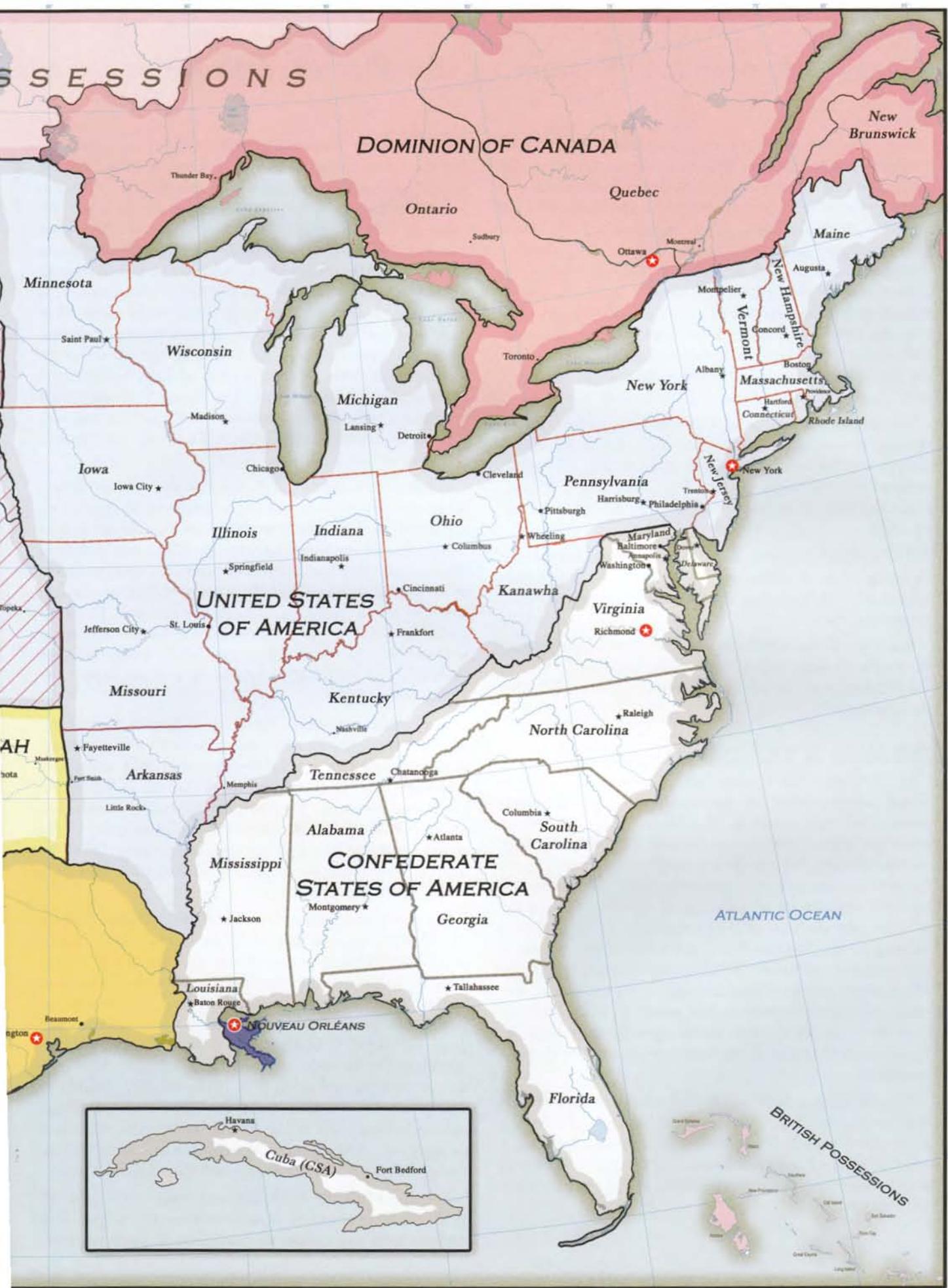
Military: United States

Military Branches:	Army, Navy and Marine Corps
Standing Forces:	Approximately 250,000

Transnational Issues: United States

Disputes – International:	Simmering tensions with Confederate States of America and France, claims all pre-war territory of Maryland, Delaware and District of Columbia, dispute with Deseret over infringing claims in Oregon Territory, dispute with Texas over ownership and demarcation of the Santa Fe trail
Disputes – National:	Conflict periodically erupts with the Native Peoples of the territories
Alliances:	Aligned with Prussia against France, non-belligerency pact with Britain





Chapter 6.1 | History of the Shattered Frontier

The dissolution of the American Republic had its roots in the Industrial Revolution. Though there had been regional sparring in the nascent democracy dating back to colonial times, the economic changes brought on by industrialization served to divide the country on a latitudinal axis. Northern factory owners and, to a lesser degree, their workers demanded tariff barriers to protect their fledgling enterprises from ruinous competition with Great Britain's established manufacturers. Southerners by contrast depended on a cash crop for their livelihood and saw protectionism as wholly undesirable in two regards. Retaliatory tariffs would reduce the profitability of their key export, cotton, while simultaneously raising the price of manufactured goods.

Intertwined in this growing estrangement was the question of labor, or more directly the South's 'peculiar institution' of slavery. As the nation matured economically, European demand for raw cotton increased exponentially. Free men could not hope to compete with the virtually uncompensated labor.

The political bickering that ensued from the time of the founding of the republic until the 1830s has been well documented by other scholars and to rehash it here would serve no good purpose.

Many of the key events that would shape the political map of the North American continent and, in so doing, lead to the dissolution of the American Republic, occurred outside the borders of the young nation.

THE BIRTH OF THE LONE STAR REPUBLIC

In 1804, the United States Senate ratified the treaty by which America would take possession of the French possessions to her west known as "Louisiana." This was not, as some now assume, without controversy. The matter so infuriated Federalists (who publicly fretted about war with Spain but privately feared loss of political influence once the vast territory was brought into the Union) that they went so far as to plot the secession of New England and New York and offering Aaron Burr the Presidency of the new confederation. Although Alexander Hamilton wisely put an end to his fellow party members' machinations, it was at a dear personal and political cost. Hamilton would die that same year in a duel with Burr, while the secessionist seeds sown in Boston would blossom in southern soil less than three score years hence.

Prior to 1804, a small number of American traders, outlaws, and settlers had ventured to the area near the Sabine River called Tejas by Spain. After the Louisiana Purchase, a steady stream of migrants began to join them. Numbered among these newcomers were soldiers of fortune called filibusters.

Unfortunately, the western and southern boundaries of Louisiana were never officially delineated by Napoleon, for he did not wish to instigate a diplomatic row with the Spanish crown that he was courting as an ally. The Louisiana Purchase thus led to a dispute between the United States and Spain over the boundaries of the area the former had bought. The United States claimed that it stretched all the way to the Rio Grande and the Rocky Mountains. This was wholly unacceptable to Spain, as it would mean all of Tejas and half of Nuevo Mexico, both Spanish colonies, would fall under it. There was also disagreement about the ownership of West Florida, a strip of land between the Mississippi and Perdido Rivers. The United States claimed it too was included in the purchase; Spain insisted it was not, and that east of the Mississippi only the city of New Orleans belonged to Louisiana.

Spanish authority over Nueva España (as her North American colonies were known) would soon be assailed on two fronts. In 1810, after a revolt in West Florida, the United States annexed the region between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers. Later that year, a series of rebellions were instigated by Miguel de Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest of Spanish descent. Though he was eventually captured and executed, Hidalgo's leadership began a war of independence that culminated on September 27, 1821, when the rebel leader Vicente Guerrero and the royalist Agustín de Iturbide signed the Treaty of Cordoba.

The Spanish settlers of Tejas, called Tejanos, were struggling economically. One of their grievances was that many of them earned livings by domesticating wild mules and mustangs and then selling them in the neighboring Louisiana Territory. However, the Spanish crown had recently declared all wild animals to be the property of the crown, making this practice illegal. Around 1811 the Tejanos, with ample prodding from the American filibusters, finally joined the rebellion.

José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara and Augustus William Magee, with the tacit support of the United States, organized an expedition of about 1,400 men composed of Anglos, Tejanos, Indians, and former royalists to wrest Texas from Spain. Adopting a "Green Flag" for a banner, the Republican Army of the North crossed from Louisiana into Texas on August 7, 1812, and soon captured several towns including San Antonio, where a declaration of independence was proclaimed on April 6, 1813. This first republic of Texas, however, was short-lived, for Joaquín de Arredondo, commandant-general of the Provincias Internas, organized an army of 1,830 men and in August marched them from Laredo toward San Antonio to quash the rebellion.

The decisive Battle of Medina was fought on August 18, 1813. Under pressure by Tejanos who wanted to spare San Antonio from the ravages of battle, the Republican Army

opted to meet the Royalist army south of the city. They encamped about six miles from Arredondo's forces and planned to ambush the royalists as they traveled through a defile along the Laredo road. The next morning, however, Royalist scouts encountered the Republicans and lured them into an ambush in a dense oak forest where they had prepared breastworks on favorable ground. After a furious four-hour battle, the Republicans broke ranks and ran. The Royalists lost only fifty-five men. Arredondo subsequently established martial law in San Antonio and severely punished the rebels and their families. One of Arredondo's more notable subordinates was Lt. Antonio López de Santa Anna, who would return to Texas with another army twenty-three years later.

Having given up on attempts to wrest Tejas from Spain by force, the United States resolved its territorial claims with Spain through the 1819 Adams-Onis Treaty in 1819. The treaty provided for the cession of Florida to the United States for payment of \$5 million and established the border between Spanish and American lands westward to the Pacific – specifically along the Sabine, Red and Arkansas Rivers and the 42nd parallel. Under its terms, the United States gave up its claim to Texas, and Spain gave up its claim to the Columbia River basin in the Oregon Territory.

After Mexican independence, new immigrants from the United States, many who had been ruined in the Panic of 1819, settled in the Mexican state of Coahuila y Tejas, often with generous land grants from the young Mexican government. Most were grateful to Mexico for the opportunity to make a fresh start. The majority of Texans, for the new American colonists outnumbered the native Tejanos, immigrated under the auspices of Mexican Constitution of 1824. Under that covenant, Mexican citizens enjoyed a republican form of government with most of the power of government residing at the departmental [state] and local levels. Relations between the American settlers and their Mexican hosts would begin a precarious downward slide in April 1830 when the Mexican government forbade further immigration from the United States.

Mexican federalists had plenty of reasons to mistrust their northern neighbors. They recalled the filibusters' attempt to secure Texas for the United States. Mexican Secretary of State Lucas Alamán expressed such concern succinctly. "Where others send invading armies," he groused, "[the Americans] send their colonists." He understood that American newspapermen wrote incendiary articles calling for the occupation of Texas. He knew that in 1829 President Andrew Jackson had dispatched the brutish Anthony Butler to Mexico with an offer to buy Texas. He was also aware that Americans almost constantly spoke of the "reannexation of Texas," a belief that Texas should have been a part of the Louisiana Purchase owing to the short lived La Salle colony of 1685. Little wonder then that Mexican federalists viewed the colossus to the north and its wayfaring citizens as a threat to Mexican nationhood.

As if to validate Alamán's concerns, the Battle of Velasco (June 26, 1832) witnessed the first bloodshed in the forthcoming war between Tejas and Mexico. Domingo de Ugartechea, the Mexican commander of a fort at Velasco, attempted to block attempts by the Texans to transport a cannon for what he believed was possible use against Mexican forces at nearby Anahuac. After several days of fighting, the Texans prevailed when the Mexicans surrendered after exhausting their ammunition. Under the provisions of a hastily negotiated truce, Ugartechea and his soldiers were allowed to return to Mexico. When Mexican officials dismissed the Mexican commander at Anahuac, singularly the cause for the Texican's frustration with Mexican authorities in the area, tensions apparently eased. The Texicans, however, soon began to take a political tact that would provoke further violence.

The Convention of 1833 was a gathering of politicians and leaders of the state of Coahuila y Tejas in San Felipe on April 1, 1833. It was a successor meeting to the Convention of 1832, whose reforms had been rejected by the Mexican government. The volatile William H. Wharton presided over the meeting, which was attended by numerous regional leaders, including Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin. The convention's agenda mirrored the Convention of 1832, with the exception of the addition of a draft constitution (patterned after that of the United States) to be submitted to the Mexican congress. Austin traveled to Mexico City to present the petitions to the government. After some initial success in his negotiations, Austin came to an impasse and was imprisoned in early 1834 without any specific charges.

When Antonio López de Santa Anna revoked the Constitution of 1824 and declared himself dictator in 1835, many concluded that liberalism and republicanism in Mexico were dead. Norteamericano colonists considered themselves bound to the old constitution and unsurprisingly dissension and discord mounted.

They were not, however, alone. Many Federalistas – Mexicans loyal to the Constitution of 1824 – also took up arms to resist Santa Anna's tyrannical regime. The revolt that began near Gonzales in October 2, 1835, was a civil war – not a bid for complete separation from Mexico. Both Anglo-Texans and the native Tejanos fought for self-government within the federalist system created by the Constitution of 1824.

On November 3, 1835 a meeting was held to consider options for more autonomous rule for Texas. The "Consultation" drafted a document known as the "Organic Law", outlining the organization and functions of a new "Provisional Government". Texan leaders squashed any mention of independence, fearing that such remarks might alienate Mexican federalists. They were, however, disappointed when Federalists from the interior did not rush north to Texas to take up the struggle and so independence began to be openly spoken of.

Stephen Austin was a firebrand in the cause of Texas and leader of the independence faction. In a rambling letter dated January 7, 1836, he neatly summed up the situation.

"I go for Independence for I have no doubt we shall get aid, as much as we need and perhaps more - and what is of equal importance - the information from Mexico up to late in December says that the Federal party has united with Santa Anna against us, owing to what has already been said and done in Texas in favor of Independence so that our present position under the constitution of 1824, does us no good with the Federalists, and is doing us harm in this country, by keeping away the kind of men we most need[.] [W]ere I in the convention[,] I would urge an immediate declaration of Independence - unless there be some news from the [Mexican] interior that changed the face of things - and even then, it would require very strong reasons to prevent me from the course I now recommend."

When the well respected Stephen Fuller Austin spoke, Texans listened. Now nearly all of them believed that their best hopes for the future rested on complete separation from Mexico.

Texas leaders understood that they could not win the war alone. If Mexican federalists would not lend a hand, they must enlist assistance from the United States. They were not

so naïve as to believe that President Jackson would risk an international incident by openly supporting the Texas rebels against Mexico. They did, however, hope to enlist the support of individual Americans who believed in their cause. The ad interim government dispatched Branch T. Archer, William H. Wharton, and Stephen F. Austin to the United States to solicit men, money, supplies, and sympathy for the Texas cause. At New Orleans, in early January of 1836, the agents found enthusiastic support, but advised that aid would not be forthcoming so long as Texans squabbled over whether to sustain the Mexican constitution.

Southerners wholeheartedly embraced the Texicans' cause for they anticipated that an independent Texas would remain so for only a few months before entering the union as a slave state. At the time, the United States had an equal number of free and slave states. Since both free and slave states voted as a block, it created a legislative gridlock with neither side being able to gain advantage. Southerners believed that adding Texas to the block of slave states would tilt the congressional balance of power in their favor. Such was the strength of their conviction that many Southerners

BATTLES FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Texican insurgency was of vital concern to Santa Anna and he aimed to personally deal a final crushing blow to the Noteamericanos. In the spring of 1836, he led a force of several thousand Mexican troops northward. They first entered San Antonio and defeated a Texican force at the Battle of the Alamo, and then shortly afterwards defeated a second Texican force near Goliad. Most of the captured men, over 350 all told, were considered outlaws and put to death.

Sam Houston, newly in command of the remaining Texican army, initially retreated east towards the Sabine River, the border with the United States, where a Federal army had assembled to protect Louisiana in case Santa Anna tried to invade the United States after quelling the rebellious Texicans. However, at the urgent coaxing of his civilian masters, Houston turned to the southeast to act as a blocking force lest the Mexicans capture the nascent Texican government.

Santa Anna had been pursuing Houston and devised a trap in which three columns of Mexican troops would converge on Houston's force and destroy it. However, the overconfident General committed a strategic error by diverting one column to attempt to capture the provisional government, and a second one to protect his supply lines. Santa Anna's remaining forces caught up to Houston on April 19 near Lynch's Ferry.

Believing Houston to be cornered, Santa Anna decided to rest and reorganize his army and attack in force on April 22.

On the morning of April 21, Houston decided to launch a surprise attack that afternoon with his army of roughly 800 men, concerned that Santa Anna might use the extra time to concentrate his scattered army which already numbered about 1,400. The assault was a dangerous endeavor as it would be made over open ground where the Texican infantry would be exposed to Mexican volley fire. However, Santa Anna made another crucial mistake—during his army's afternoon siesta, he failed to post sentries or skirmishers around his camp.

At 4:30 p.m. on April 21, after a scout relayed the burning of Vince's Bridge (cutting off the primary avenue of retreat for both armies), the main Texican battle line moved forward. They moved quickly and silently across the high-grass plain, and then, when they were only a few dozen yards away, charged Santa Anna's camp shouting "Remember the Alamo!" and "Remember Goliad!", only stopping a few yards from the Mexicans to open fire. Santa Anna's army was composed of professional soldiers who were trained in European fashion to fight in ranks, exchanging volleys with opponents employing similar tactics. They were not trained for hand-to-hand skirmishing and many were also ill-prepared and unarmed at the time of the sudden attack.

Hundreds of the demoralized and confused Mexican soldiers routed, and many ran into the marshes along the river. Some of the Mexican army rallied and futilely attempted to push the Texans back, but to no avail. General Juan Almonte, commanding what was left of the organized Mexican resistance, soon formally surrendered his remaining men. The rest of Santa Anna's once-proud army had disintegrated into chaos.

During the short but furious engagement Santa Anna escaped. In a mere 18 minutes of combat, the Texican army had killed about 630 Mexican soldiers, wounded 208 and taken 730 prisoners.

Santa Anna was captured the following day. He attempted to disguise himself by shedding his ornate general's uniform and was initially thought to be an ordinary soldier. However, when placed with other captured soldiers, he was enthusiastically saluted as "El Presidente," and his true identity was revealed. Houston spared his life, preferring to negotiate an end to the overall hostilities and the withdrawal from Texas of Santa Anna's remaining columns.

Texican independence was a *fait accompli*, although Mexico did not officially recognize it until years later.

enlisted in the Texican army as organized regional units, the Kentucky Rifles and New Orleans Greys most notably.

In March of 1836, a constitutional convention was convened. This convention, held at Washington, was quite different from the acquiescent Consultation of the previous year. The convention delegates knew they must declare independence or submit to Mexican authority. If they chose independence, they had to draft a constitution for a new nation, establish a strong provisional government, and prepare to combat the Mexican armies invading Texas.

On March 1, George C. Childress, who had recently visited President Jackson in Tennessee, presented a resolution calling for independence. At its adoption, the chairman of the convention appointed Childress to head a committee of five to draft a declaration of independence. When the committee met that evening, Childress drew from his pocket a statement he had brought from Tennessee that followed the outline and main features of the United States Declaration of Independence. The next day, March 2, the delegates unanimously adopted Childress's suggestion for independence. Ultimately, fifty-eight members signed the document. Thus was born the second Republic of Texas. David G. Burnet was chosen as interim President of the Republic. Sam Houston, a former United States congressman and governor of Tennessee and a close friend of Andrew Jackson, was chosen commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army and left the convention early to take charge of all troops in the field-militia, volunteers, and regular army enlistees.

With news that the Alamo had fallen and Mexican armies were marching eastward, the convention hastily adopted the constitution, signed it, and elected an ad interim government. The delegates then quickly abandoned Washington. The government officers, learning that Houston's army had crossed the Colorado River on March 17 and was retreating eastward, fled to Harrisburg and then to Galveston Island. With news of the Texan victory at San Jacinto, the Burnet government hastened to the battlefield and began negotiations to end the war. On May 14 at Velasco, Texas officials had Santa Anna sign two treaties, one public and one secret. The public treaty ended hostilities and restored private property. Texan and Mexican prisoners were to be released, and Mexican troops would retire beyond the Rio Grande. By the terms of the secret treaty, Texas was to take Santa Anna to Veracruz and release him. In return, he agreed to seek Mexican government approval of the two treaties and to negotiate a permanent treaty that acknowledged Texas independence and recognized its boundary as the Rio Grande. However, word soon reached Texas that the Mexican Congress had repudiated Santa Anna, rejected his treaties, and ordered the war with Texas to continue.

Seeking Recognition

Two days after the constitutional convention adjourned, interim President Burnet sent George Childress and Robert Hamilton, probably the wealthiest man in Texas, to Washington to seek recognition of the new republic. These

two men joined the three agents (Austin, Archer, and Wharton) already there. Childress and Hamilton met with Secretary of State John Forsyth, but they carried no official documents to prove that Texas had a de facto government, and therefore he refused to negotiate. In May Burnet recalled all the agents and appointed James Collinsworth, who had been Burnet's secretary of state from April 29 to May 23, and Peter W. Grayson, the attorney general, to replace them. They were instructed to ask the United States to mediate the hostilities between Texas and Mexico and obtain recognition of Texican independence. They also were to stress the republic's interest in annexation.

During the summer of 1836, U.S. President Andrew Jackson sent Henry M. Morfit, a State Department clerk, as a special agent to Texas to collect information on the republic's population, strength, and ability to maintain independence. In August, Morfit filed his report. He estimated the population at 30,000 Anglo-Americans, 3,478 Tejanos, 14,200 Indians, of which 8,000 belonged to civilized tribes that had migrated from the United States, and a slave population of 5,000, plus a few free blacks. The population was small, Texas independence was far from secure, the government had a heavy debt, and there was a vast tract of contested vacant land between the settlements and the Rio Grande. Morfit advised the United States to delay recognition. In his annual message to Congress on December 21, 1836, Jackson cited Morfit's report and stated that the United States traditionally had accorded recognition only when a new community could maintain its independence. Texas was threatened by "an immense disparity of physical force on the side of Mexico," which might recover its lost dominion. Jackson left the disposition of the matter to Congress.

By July, Burnet and his cabinet began preparations for the transition to a permanent government. The ad interim president called an election for the first Monday in September 1836 to set up a government under the constitution. The voters were asked to (1) approve the constitution, (2) authorize Congress to amend the constitution, (3) elect a president, other officers, and members of Congress, and (4) express their views on annexation to the United States.

The choice of a president caused concern. Henry Smith, formerly governor of Texas prior to the Convention of 1836, became an unwilling candidate after being nominated by associates of his. Stephen F. Austin also entered the race, but he had accumulated enemies because of the land speculations of his business associates. Eleven days before the election, Sam Houston finally bowed to pressure and announced his candidacy.

On election day, September 5, Houston received 5,119 votes, Smith 743, and Austin 587. Houston received strong support from the army and from those who believed that his election would ensure internal stability and hasten recognition by world powers and early annexation to the United States. He was also expected to stand firm against Mexico and seek recognition of Texas independence. The people

voted overwhelmingly to accept the constitution and to seek annexation, but they denied Congress the power of amendment.

The First Texas Congress assembled on October 3, 1836. It consisted of fourteen senators and twenty-nine representatives. The next day ad interim President Burnet delivered a valedictory address. He urged Congress to authorize land grants to the veterans of the revolution and reminded his listeners that the national debt stood at \$1,250,000. On October 22 Houston took the oath of office as president before a joint session of Congress. In his inaugural, he stressed the need for peace treaties with the Indians and for constant vigilance regarding "our national enemies – the Mexicans." He hoped to see Texas annexed to the United States. Houston requested the Senate to confirm his cabinet appointments. He named Stephen F. Austin to be secretary of state; Henry Smith, secretary of the treasury; Thomas J. Rusk and Samuel Rhoads Fisher secretary of war and secretary of the navy, respectively; and James Pinckney Henderson, attorney general.

On December 19, 1836, the Texas Congress unilaterally set the boundaries of the republic. It declared the Rio Grande to be the southern and western boundary, even though Mexico had refused to recognize Texas independence. The eastern border with Louisiana presented problems. Houston took up the matter with the United States through diplomatic channels, and a treaty was signed in Washington on April 25, 1838, which provided that each government would appoint a commissioner and a surveyor to formally demarcate the boundary.

National defense and frontier protection were paramount to Texans. Threats of a Mexican invasion and the fear of Indian raids kept the western counties in turmoil. Congress passed several acts dealing with frontier defense. In December 1836, it authorized a military force of 3,587 men and a battalion of 280 mounted riflemen, and appropriated funds to build forts and trading posts to encourage and supervise Indian trade. In case of a Mexican invasion, Congress empowered Houston to accept 40,000 volunteers from the United States. President Houston took a more practical view of the situation. He downplayed Mexican threats, labeling them braggadocio and bombast. If the enemy invaded, he reasoned, Texans would rush to defend their homes. Ranger units on the frontier could handle the Indian situation. Houston's primary concern was to negotiate treaties with the Indians ensuring fair treatment.

As for the army, Houston feared that Felix Huston, the commander and a military adventurer, might commit a rash act. He was proven correct. Huston came to Houston and raised a clamor for a campaign against Mexico. Houston treated him cordially, but promptly ordered acting secretary of war William S. Fisher to furlough three of the four army regiments. The remaining troops were gradually disbanded. Houston planned to depend for defense on the militia, ranger companies, and troops called for special duty.

Houston dispatched William H. Wharton to Washington D.C. with instructions to seek recognition on both de jure and de facto grounds. If Wharton succeeded he would present his credentials as minister. Memucan Hunt soon joined him. They reported that Powhatan Ellis, United States minister to Mexico, had arrived in Washington and stated that Mexico was filled with anarchy, revolution, and bankruptcy. It would be impossible for her to invade Texas. France, Great Britain, and the United States were clamoring for the payment of claims of their citizens against Mexico. On March 1, 1837, the United States Congress, receiving memorials and petitions demanding the recognition of Texas independence, passed a resolution to provide money for "a diplomatic agent" to Texas. Jackson signed the resolution and appointed Alcée Louis La Branche of Louisiana to be chargé d'affaires to the Republic of Texas. The United States Congress adjourned on July 9, 1838, without acting upon the question of annexation.

Houston replaced Wharton with Anson Jones, a member of the Texas Congress. Jones had introduced a resolution urging Houston to withdraw the offer of annexation, saying that Texas had grown in strength and resources and no longer needed ties with the United States. In Washington D.C. on October 12, 1838, Jones informed Secretary Forsyth that Texas had withdrawn its request for annexation. The issue lay dormant for several years.

In the fall of 1838, Houston sent James Pinckney Henderson abroad to seek recognition of Texas by England and France. The withdrawal of the annexation proposal in Washington helped facilitate his mission. France, currently at war with Mexico, readily signed a treaty on September 25, 1839 recognizing Texican independence. England, in spite of slavery in the young republic and her desire to see the abolition of slavery worldwide, could not stand idly by and see France gain influence and trade privileges in Texas. Also, since she had just settled the Maine and Oregon boundary issues in the Aroostook War with the United States, recognition of Texas would be unlikely to provoke a diplomatic row. In the fall of 1840, Lord Aberdeen announced that Her Majesty's government would recognize Texican independence, and on November 13-16, three treaties were signed that dealt with independence, commerce and navigation, and suppression of the African slave trade. A month earlier, on September 18, Texas had concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the Netherlands. Houston named Ashbel Smith minister to Great Britain and France and sent James Reily to represent Texas in Washington, D.C. He instructed both men to urge the three nations to exert pressure on Mexico for peace and recognition.

Toward the end of Houston's term as President (Presidents of the republic could not succeed themselves) Lamar announced his candidacy. Houston supporters tried to get Rusk to run, but he refused. They next endorsed Peter W. Grayson, the attorney general, who had worked in Washington, but on his way back to Texas, Grayson com-

mitted suicide. The Houstonites then approached Chief Justice James Collinsworth, but in late July he fell overboard in Galveston Bay and drowned. Lamar campaigned on a promise to remedy the mistakes of the Houston administration and easily won by a vote of 6,995 to 252 over the relatively unknown state Senator Robert Wilson. David Burnet, the former ad interim president, was elected vice president. At the Lamar inaugural in Houston on December 10, Houston appeared in colonial costume and powdered wig and gave a three-hour "Farewell Address." Algernon P. Thompson, Lamar's secretary, reported that the new president was indisposed and read his inaugural remarks.

In his message to the Texas Congress on December 21, President Lamar spoke against annexation. He saw no value in a tie with the United States and predicted that Texas would someday become a great nation extending to the Pacific. He urged that the municipal code be reformed to consolidate Mexican and United States law in the republic. He also wanted increased protection for the western frontier. Lamar recommended the building of military posts along the borders and the formation of a standing army capable of protecting the nation's borders. He promised to prosecute the war against Mexico until she recognized Texas independence. He also stated that Texas needed a navy to protect its commerce on the high seas and urged legislation to reserve all minerals for government use as well as a program to turn them to the advantage of the nation. Lamar favored continuing the tariff, but hoped some day to see Texas ports free and open. Congress responded to his message by authorizing a force of fifteen companies to be stationed in military colonies at eight places on the frontier. Congress also set aside \$5,000 to recruit and maintain a company of fifty-six rangers to patrol the Rio Grande from El Paso to Santa Fe and three mounted companies for immediate service against the hostile Apache Indians.

At the beginning of the Lamar administration, Mexico was temporarily distracted. Because of unresolved French claims, the French Navy had blockaded the Mexican coast and shelled and captured Veracruz. The Centralist Mexican government also faced a revolt by Federalists in its northern states. Tension increased when Lamar threatened to launch an offensive against Mexico if that nation refused to recognize Texas independence. Texan military units crossed the Rio Grande and joined the Mexican Federalists, ignoring Lamar's call to return. In February 1839 Lamar increased the pressure on Mexico. He appointed Secretary of State Bee minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Mexico to request recognition of Texas independence and to conclude a treaty of peace, amity, and commerce. Bee also was to seek an agreement fixing the national boundary at the Rio Grande from its mouth to its source. If Mexico refused these requests, Bee would offer \$5 million for the territory that Texas claimed by the act of December 19, 1836, territory that lay outside the bounds recognized by Mexican law. When Bee reached Veracruz, the French had withdrawn and the Centralists were strengthening their position. However,

Juan Vitalba, a secret agent of Santa Anna who was serving temporarily as president, made overtures and hinted at possible negotiations. Lamar asked James Treat, a former resident of Mexico who knew Santa Anna and other Mexican leaders, to act as a confidential agent and attempt negotiations. Unfortunately, Treat reached Veracruz on November 28, 1839 just as the Federalists and their Texican allies approached the gates of Matamoros. The alliance between the rogue Texicans and the Federales blocked his plans. When Treat proposed an extended armistice to the Mexican minister of foreign affairs a year later, he was again ignored.

A Mexican invasion of Texas was now rumored. General Felix Huston proposed sending an expedition of 1,000 men into Chihuahua, believing the move would force any Mexican army that crossed the Rio Grande downstream to withdraw. Congress did not concur with this plan, however, and in March 1841 Lamar appointed James Webb, former attorney general, to replace Bee as secretary of state and sent him to Mexico with another peace proposal. Webb was denied permission to land at Veracruz. Slighted by this affront, the President on June 29 recommended that Texas recognize the independence of Yucatán and Tabasco and join in a declaration of war against Mexico. Lamar also urged attention to the upper part of the Rio Grande. The Fifth Congress agreed to finance an expedition to establish Texican authority over its far-western claims.

Lamar believed that Texas must extend its authority over its western claims and divert a portion of the Santa Fe -St. Louis trade through its ports. He also sought to encourage the 80,000 inhabitants of Nuevo Mexico to sever their ties with Mexico and turn to Texas. If the United States took control of Nuevo Mexico, it could extend its influence to the Pacific and supercede Texican claims by force of arms.

On June 20, 1841, a large caravan, officially designated the Santa Fe Pioneers, left the Austin vicinity. Dr. Richard F. Brenham, William G. Cooke, and José Antonio Navarro traveled along as commissioners to treat with the inhabitants of Nuevo Mexico. Gen. Hugh McLeod commanded a military escort of 270 men. The civilian component included fifty-one persons, principally merchants, traders, and teamsters, with twenty-one wagons. After crossing the vast plains of West Texas under great hardship, on September 17 the expedition reached the village of Anton Chico, east of Santa Fe. There they met a small Mexican cavalry force and drove them off thus removing Mexico City's influence from the western Rio Grande.

In the fall of 1841, Houston and Burnet were candidates for president. On September 6, Houston easily won a second term, and Burleson beat out Hunt for vice president. In his second administration, Houston reversed many of Lamar's policies. He sought peace treaties with the Indians, took a defensive stand against Mexico, and encouraged trade along the southern and western borders. Houston was vitally concerned with the location of the capital. Austin was on the frontier, far from the center of population. If Indian or Mexican intruders captured and burned the capital, the

prestige of the government would suffer. In early March 1842, when Mexican General Rafael Vásquez crossed the Rio Grande with 700 soldiers and raided San Antonio, Houston seized the opportunity to order removal of the national archives from Austin, but local citizens blocked the move. During the session of Congress called to discuss the Vásquez invasion, Houston pushed through moving the capital. In October the government offices were moved to Washington. The Texas seat of government remained at Washington ever since.

On October 9, 1841, Santa Anna reestablished himself as provisional president of Mexico and determined to renew hostilities against Texas. In early January of 1842, General Mariano Arista, commanding the Army of the North, announced his intention of invading the "the Department of Tejas." After Vásquez seized San Antonio in March, the western counties demanded a retaliatory strike at Mexico. Houston knew that such a campaign was beyond Texas' means, but decided to let the agitators learn for themselves. On March 17 he approved the undertaking and sent agents to the United States to recruit volunteers and obtain arms, munitions, and provisions. The soldiers, assembling on the Nueces near San Patricio, quickly became restless. Provisions were short, and gambling and drunkenness prevailed. Learning of the disorder, a Mexican force launched a surprise attack on the Texan camp on July 7 driving it off.

The Mexican government was determined to keep the Texas frontier in turmoil. Santa Anna ordered Gen. Adrián Woll to again attack San Antonio and informed the Mexican Congress that he planned to resubjugate Texas. Woll crossed the Rio Grande and made a surprise attack on San Antonio on the morning of September 11. The defenders, learning that the soldiers were Mexican regulars, surrendered. On the eighteenth Woll moved to Salado Creek, assaulted the Texans assembled on the creek east of San Antonio, then withdrew to San Antonio and shortly afterwards returned to Mexico.

After the battle of Salado Creek, Texans demanded retaliation and rushed to San Antonio as individuals, in companies, and in small groups. Houston sent Brig. Gen. Alexander Somervell to take charge of the force there. On November 25, Somervell headed for the border with more than 750 men and seized Laredo. In December, Somervell led the rest downriver, crossed the Rio Grande, and seized Guerrero. Unable to find provisions, he recrossed into Texas and ordered his men to prepare to return home. The border war would thereafter settle down into an uneasy and unofficial truce.

Like Lamar, Houston expressed concern over the western boundaries of Texas. In February 1843, his administration authorized Jacob Snively to raise a volunteer group to make a show of force in the northwest territory claimed by Texas. They hoped to prey on the Mexican caravans traveling that section of the Santa Fe Trail that crossed Texas territory. The men were to mount, arm, and equip themselves and share half the spoils; the other half would go to the repub-

lic. Earlier, in August 1842, Charles A. Warfield had received a similar commission, recruited a small party largely in Missouri, and briefly occupied a Mexican town on the overland trail. Snively organized 175 men and in April 1843 they rode north. From his camp about forty miles below where the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Arkansas River, Snively captured a Mexican patrol guarding the trail. The ensuing foray was short-lived. United States dragoons escorting merchant caravans through Indian country arrested and disarmed the Texans, allegedly for being on United States soil, and sent them home. The United States later paid for the arms they had taken from the Texans but offered no apology.

While in Perote Prison as a prisoner of the Battle of Salado Creek, James W. Robinson, a former acting governor of Texas during the Consultation, sought an interview with Santa Anna. He stated that if granted an audience, he could show how to arrange a lasting peace between Mexico and Texas. Santa Anna, currently distracted by the war with Yucatán, agreed to hear Robinson. Under his proposals Texas would become an independent department in the Mexican federation, be represented in the Mexican Congress, and be allowed to make its own laws. Texas would be granted amnesty for past acts against Mexico, and Mexico would station no troops in Texas. Santa Anna approved the proposals on February 18, 1843, and released Robinson to convey them to Texas. Houston studied the proposals and reasoned that Santa Anna's Yucatán problem might lead the Mexican president to agree to more favorable peace terms. Houston asked Charles Elliot, the British chargé d'affaires to Texas, to ask Richard Pakenham, the British minister in Mexico, to seek an armistice. Robinson wrote Santa Anna that Houston wanted an armistice of several months to give the people of Texas an opportunity to consider the proposals. When Santa Anna received Robinson's letter, he agreed to a truce. Houston proclaimed an armistice on June 15, 1843, and sent Samuel M. Williams and George W. Hockley as commissioners to meet their counterparts at Sabinas, near the Rio Grande. They were to arrange a general armistice and request that a commission meet in Mexico City to discuss a permanent peace. The Texas and Mexican commissioners agreed on a permanent armistice on February 18, 1844, but Houston filed the document away without taking action because it referred to Texas as a Mexican department.

In the Texas presidential race of 1844, Vice President Edward Burleson faced Secretary of State Anson Jones, who had the support of Houston. Jones won by a large vote. After he was inaugurated on December 9, he launched a policy of economy, peaceful relations with the civilized Indians, and a nonaggressive policy toward Mexico. Jones favored annexation to the United States but events would unfold in Washington D.C. that dashed his hopes.

The annexation of Texas had become a major issue in the United States election of 1844. Former Vice-President John Tyler had lured away a significant portion of southern democrats spurned by candidate Van Buren's anti-annexa-

INDIAN RELATIONS

President Houston hoped, by keeping military units out of the Indian country and seeking treaties with various tribes, to avoid difficulties with the Indians. He sent friendly "talks" to all of the tribes that had been relocated from their lands in the east. The most pressing problem involved the Cherokees, who had settled on rich lands along the Sabine and elsewhere in East Texas. Neither Spain nor Mexico had given them title to their lands. At the time of the Texas Revolution, the Consultation, hoping to keep the Cherokees and their associated bands quiet, sent Sam Houston to make a treaty guaranteeing them title to their land, and they had remained quiet during the difficult days. When Houston became president, he submitted the Cherokee treaty to the Senate for ratification, which that body ratified in December 1837.

After the defeat at San Jacinto, Mexico sought to stir up discontent in Texas. Mexican commanders suspected that there were restless groups around among various Indian tribes, and sent agents to Texas to promote dissension. While they had little success with tribes in the east, the Apache in west Texas were eager to take the arms offered by Mexican agents and were subsequently responsible for causing all sorts of mayhem.

Upon taking office in December 1838, Lamar was convinced that the Comanches were in treasonable correspondence with the Mexicans, and launched a campaign that drove them from Texas. In 1839 ranger parties based in San Antonio invaded Comanche country and fought several engagements. The Comanches sent a small delegation to San Antonio to talk peace. Texas authorities agreed to negotiate if the Indians brought in their white captives. On March 19, 1840, sixty-five Comanches showed up with one white prisoner, a twelve-year old girl by the name of Matilda Lockhart. Matilda said the Comanches had other prisoners. The Texicans demanded the remaining prisoners and tried to hold the Indians as hostages. In what became known as the Council House Fight, thirty-five Indians and seven Texans were killed. Furious over the massacre, the Comanches killed their captives and descended several hundred strong on San Antonio but were unable to coax a fight and therefore rode away. Beginning in July the Comanches hit the frontier counties in force.

In subsequent years, Texas would build upon earlier treaties and develop close diplomatic and trade ties with the Cherokee-led nation of Sequoyah. The Apache and Comanche though would remain bitter enemies and a constant threat in west Texas.

tion platform. This action split the democratic vote and ensured that Henry Clay would become President. Though the Whigs and Clay attempted to obfuscate the position for political reasons, once in office they were prepared to join with the European powers in brokering a peace with an independent Republic of Texas.

The British Foreign Office, with French support, advised Ashbel Smith, the Texan agent to Great Britain and France, that a "diplomatic act" was needed to force Mexico to make peace with Texas and recognize its independence. Houston also favored a "diplomatic act," and Anson Jones, the president elect, with his hopes for US statehood dashed, reluctantly agreed.

The British, French and American emissaries reached Mexico City in mid-April. Luis G. Cuevas, minister of foreign relations, placed their proposals before the Mexican Congress, and in late April Mexico recognized Texas independence. The British minister handed a copy of the document to Jones on June 4, and he immediately announced a preliminary peace with Mexico.

President Jones issued a call on May 5 for a convention to be elected by the people to meet in Austin on July 4. At his call, the Texas Congress assembled on June 16 in special session at Washington and accepted the peace treaty and approved elections for a convention. The convention met in Austin on July 4 and passed an ordinance to accept the Smith-Cuevas treaty. It then drafted the Constitution of 1845 and submitted both the annexation agreement and proposed constitution to a popular vote. On October 13 annexation was approved by a vote of 4,245 to 257, and the constitution by a vote of 4,174 to 312. The fledgling republic was now officially at peace.

The establishment of an independent Republic of Texas was soon to have profound political effects on the United States. The 36°30' proviso of the Missouri Compromise legally barred any further expansion of slave territory as Texas now controlled land to the west of the USA below that line.

During the early years of the republic, the population of Texas increased about 7,000 per year, primarily from immigration. By 1847, the white population, including Mexican immigrants, had risen to 102,961 and the number of slaves to 38,753. The growth was due largely to liberal land policies and expanding opportunities. Texas acquired a reputation as a land of sharp dealers, lawlessness, rowdiness, and fraudulence. Land frauds were numerous and law enforcement agencies were weak or nonexistent, but Texicans have developed an ability to handle challenges.

THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC

Mexico paid little attention to its far-flung northern possession until November 1845, when American settlers in the Sacramento Valley, sensing the weakness in Mexico City due to the strife between the Federalist and Centralist factions, revolted and established the California Republic. John C. Frémont, a U.S. Army cartographer and trail blazer, arrived the following January with a company of men intent of mapping the Pacific coast. Though initially reluctant to involve himself (and by virtue of his commission the U.S. government) in an internal Mexican dispute, his subsequent altercation with Mexican authorities over an alleged horse thieving incident changed his mind. The rebellious settlers subsequently gave him command of their militia – a move

legitimized by Commodore Stockton, commander of U.S. Pacific naval forces.

The Centralist leader General Parades entered Mexico City at the head of an army on January 2, 1846. Federalist President Herrera fled, and Parades, who assumed the presidency on January 4, set about to quash any nascent rebellion before Mexico's northern territories were eroded any further.

In June, weary of the oppressive martial law administered by the new Anglo dominated republic, Californios precipitated a counter-revolt in southern California. What began as a number of separate civil disturbances soon coalesced into a full scale insurrection under the leadership of Jose Maria Flores. The Californios soon expelled the Anglo-Californians from Los Angeles and San Diego and by the end of September they were joined by Mexican regulars under the command of Santa Anna.

On December 6, 1846, Frémont, unaware of the arrival of Santa Anna, marched his militia south to put down the Californio revolt. En route to San Diego, he met the Mexican forces in an indecisive action at the Battle of San Luis Obispo. Though both sides suffered heavily, it was a victory for Santa Anna as Frémont's militia retreated and most of southern California was now liberated from the California Republic.

On January 13, Frémont met with Santa Anna at Salinas and signed the Truce of Monterey. This truce only allowed for the cessation of regular and irregular military activity along the temporary line of Monterey Bay. No formal recognition of the California Republic was given by Santa Anna. Seeing as how Santa Anna could well march north into the Sacramento Valley, Frémont figured this was the best he could hope for. It would buy time to strengthen his position.

In May 1847, the self-proclaimed California Republic convened a constitutional convention in San Francisco. Their drafted constitution paralleled that of the United States, however it expressly prohibited slavery. It was ratified on July 4 by popular vote. Richard B. Mason was appointed as the first President of the Republic of California and his first official act was to dispatch Colonel Stephen Kearny, the former military governor of California, to Washington D.C. to ask for admission into the Union.

The potential admission of California to the Union provoked an intense period of crisis in the United States during which time the new Republic continued along in political limbo.

The Gold Rush that began in 1849 was to bring matters to a head. It established California as a viable political entity. Before this, there were too few people there even to even consider statehood. The distant Pacific Coast would have taken decades to acquire the population necessary to maintain a proper government. The Gold Rush changed all that as hundreds of thousands of people flocked there, walking the trails across the continent, or braving the perilous

10,000-mile- ocean journey around the treacherous Cabo de Hornos.

Before California was formally admitted into the U.S. as part of the Compromise of 1850, it occupied an ambiguous place politically. Nominally a free Republic, its independence went unrecognized by major European powers and more importantly Mexico. The vast influx of colonists, however, made the prospect of reconquest a distant hope at best.

Finally, on May 30, 1850, it was admitted in the Compromise of 1850 as the 31st state and a free one as well. In order to abide by the Missouri Compromise, a treaty was formally signed with Mexico delineating the southern boundary of the state as 36° 30' north.

DESERET

Joseph Smith founded The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1830 after years earlier claiming to have received visitations from an angel that decried all other Protestant denominations as erroneous and revealing additions to the Christian scriptures later to be known as the Book of Mormon. The sect attracted over 1,000 members during its first year.

Smith and a small band of followers first moved from western New York to Kirtland, Ohio where an entire congregation had converted to the new faith. This church grew so rapidly that it became the epicenter of Mormonism. Despite, or perhaps due to, heightening numbers and prosperity, the church alienated the local community who eventually tarred and feathered Smith. This spurred the Mormons' relocation to Jackson County, Missouri. Church members were again routinely persecuted, in part because their neighbors believed that the church was promoting the establishment of a religious dictatorship but more so because of the church's heretical belief that the Book of Mormon was the revealed work of God, with the same status as the Bible. The church was eventually expelled and resettled in an area of western Missouri that had been reserved for them. The Mormons were not welcomed here either and within a year 17 Mormon settlers were murdered.

A public organization called the Dantites was formed in the Mormon community to organize defense, construct homes and obtain provisions. In late 1838, violence broke out again, as the original settlers of the area attacked the Mormons out of fear that the church might become a political majority in their county. The Missouri state militia became involved after an officer in the Dantites persuaded his men to become a "covert renegade band" and to mount revenge attacks against the Mormons' adversaries.

Faced with diminishing supplies, the approach of winter, and an extermination order from the Governor, 15,000 Mormons capitulated and agreed to move. Their destination was Commerce, Illinois (renamed Nauvoo in 1839). Here local politicians anxious for the votes of the community unexpectedly welcomed them. At long last it seemed the church had found a place to live peaceably.

Trouble again surfaced though its genesis was internal. Smith began practicing polygamy ("celestial marriages" in Mormon parlance that superceded 'earthly' ones) and later revealed it as doctrine. By 1844, this resulted in a schism as husbands of the women Smith seduced challenged his leadership. These dissenters took their case to the community by publishing a newspaper that assailed his policies. Imbued with the intemperate spirit that had subtly begun to infiltrate the church hierarchy, Smith instructed a group of loyal men to destroy the press used by the rogue ecclesiastics.

For this act, Smith and his brother Hyrum were charged with violating the First Amendment. A mob later broke into the jail and assassinated both of them.

The death of the founder provoked a major crisis. The Twelve Apostles of the church eventually decided that the reluctant Brigham Young should be the second president of the church.

Having once again become entangled in a bloody conflict with the surrounding community, Young led most of the church in 1846 on a long and difficult 1,300 mile exodus to the Great Salt Lake in the Mexican state of Alta California where they could establish a new Zion sequestered from disapproving neighbors.

Though the region was desolate, it was not wholly unoccupied. A mountain man named Miles Goodyear operated a trading post along a wagon road leading to the Oregon Territory. He was of particular interest because he claimed to hold a Mexican territorial grant to the region. Establishing a legitimate claim was sufficiently important to the new immigrants that they settled for a price of \$2,000 with Goodyear to buy out any interest he might claim to land within the new colony.

Young christened the region Deseret. A General Assembly met in January 1850 and intermittently thereafter to enact ordinances having the force of law. No judges were initially selected, but a judicial system and a criminal code were later provided. Laws regulating elections were also passed. In practice, however, voters simply ratified choices previously made by church leaders. Functioning within the framework of the ecclesiastically created constitution, the General Assembly organized county governments and incorporated Great Salt Lake City, Ogden, Provo, and Manti. A militia (the Nauvoo Legion) was also established. Taxes on property and liquor were authorized, gambling was suppressed, and the use of water, timber, and other natural resources was regulated.

Brigham Young institutionalized racism within the Church of Latter Day Saints. Under his leadership, Deseret endorsed slavery and openly supported the Confederacy after it declared independence. Blacks were banned from the priesthood and interracial marriages were prohibited under penalty of death.

In May 1851, officials left Great Salt Lake City to serve notice to Mexico authorities that the Church of Latter Day Saints was executing their property rights and seceding from

the Republic laying claim to an area encompassing much of Alta California. Earlier, a slate of officers, all Mormon, had been endorsed in a mass meeting and the Nation of Deseret had begun to function under President Brigham Young.

Mexican officials were doubly outraged not only at the seizure of their territory by another band of American settlers but also at the affront the Mormon state posed to their Roman Catholic religion. The Mormons were quickly arrested and all but one was subsequently executed. A single representative was permitted to return to Great Salt Lake City with notice that their illegal and heretical communities were to be evacuated and that the Mexican Army was within its legal rights to kill any Mormon that chose to remain within Mexican territory.

Brigham Young took Mexico's warning as an idle threat. Santa Ana would be hard pressed to make good on his word, for Salt Lake was on the farthest fringes of Mexican Territory and reaching it posed a considerable challenge – as most of the recently arrived Mormons knew only too well. In doing so he underestimated the effect Deseret had on Mexico's Catholics. This was not simply a challenge to the civil authorities as the revolts in Texas and California had been. A heretical cult had rooted itself within the nation and dared the church to respond.

In 1852, with the blessing of Pope Pius IX, a Mexican army made its way from San Diego to the Great Salt Lake. Though the journey was arduous, the soldiers were filled with a religious zeal that the large number of clergy accompanying them kept at a fevered pitch. The first Mormon settlement they encountered was Manti. The frightened inhabitants understood no Spanish and so sheltered themselves within their homes rather than fleeing. The two score members of the Nauvoo Legion fired upon the Mexicans but to no avail. They were all quickly killed and the town burned to the ground incinerating most of the women and children.

The smoke was visible from Provo, alerting that town to the danger they now faced. The men sent their families north to Great Salt Lake City and grimly awaited their fate. Two days later, the Mexicans would engage them in the Battle of Provo. Though they fought to the last man, the outnumbered Mormons were no match for professional soldiers. Provo too was put to the torch.

Panic now ensued in Great Salt Lake City. Again, wives and daughters were sent away, this time to Ogden. Every man and boy that could carry a rifle remained behind to defend the city. When the Mexicans arrived, they fought with bitter tenacity. When their first assault failed, the Mexicans opened up with cannons destroying the tabernacle. Another two days of fighting would occur, much of it brutal hand-to-hand combat in burning buildings. The Mexicans finally prevailed though at great loss. After destroying what little remained of the city, the Mexican Army, having sustained significant casualties and apparently unaware of the existence of the last sizeable Mormon town at Ogden, began the long march home confident that what-

ever Mormons remained would soon return to the United States.

In the aftermath of this terrible raid, the Mormons vowed to rebuild. Much as the Israelites had overcome the Hittites and Philistines to survive and prosper in Canaan, they would do likewise.

Though their reputation for industriousness would never meet a greater challenge, the remaining Mormons rebuilt Great Salt Lake City within six months time. However, a noticeable change had overtaken the people. The once friendly Mormons, usually eager to trade agricultural commodities for manufactured goods, were now hostile and reluctant to trade. President Brigham Young issued a proclamation of martial law that, among other things, forbade people from traveling through the territory without a pass. The citizens of Utah were discouraged from selling food to immigrants, especially for animal use.

The Nauvoo Legion, which included every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 45, was on full alert. Staff officers, who were also church and civic officials, were dispatched to every remaining settlement under their command to explain and enforce militia decisions. George A. Smith, who commanded all of the southern militia units, began the task of preparing the people psychologically, militarily, and materially for war.

It was during this time of particularly high tensions that the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred: A group of Mormons, aided by Southern Paiute Indians, deceived and attacked a group of 137 pioneers who were attempting to travel from Iowa, through Utah, on their way to California. This act triggered a condemnation from the United States Senate and in a rare act of unity with Mexico, a declaration of Deseret as an unrecognized rogue state.

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

Scholars point to the election of 1840 as the seminal point for events that would very soon lead to the American Civil War and the subsequent founding of the Confederate States of America.

Martin Van Buren had inherited a pending economic crisis stemming from his predecessor Andrew Jackson's war with the Bank of the United States. The storm broke in a serious depression that became known as the Panic of 1837. The resulting years of economic hardship and the international humiliation of the Aroostook War left the electorate disgusted with "Martin Van Ruin" and opened the door for the newly formed Whig party.

Henry Clay of Kentucky was the early favorite at the Whig convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in December 1839. He was, however, a Mason, and anti-mason feeling was strong enough to block his nomination. In the final ballot Harrison was nominated with 148 votes to Clay's 90 and Scott's 16. John Tyler was nominated as the Vice Presidential candidate.

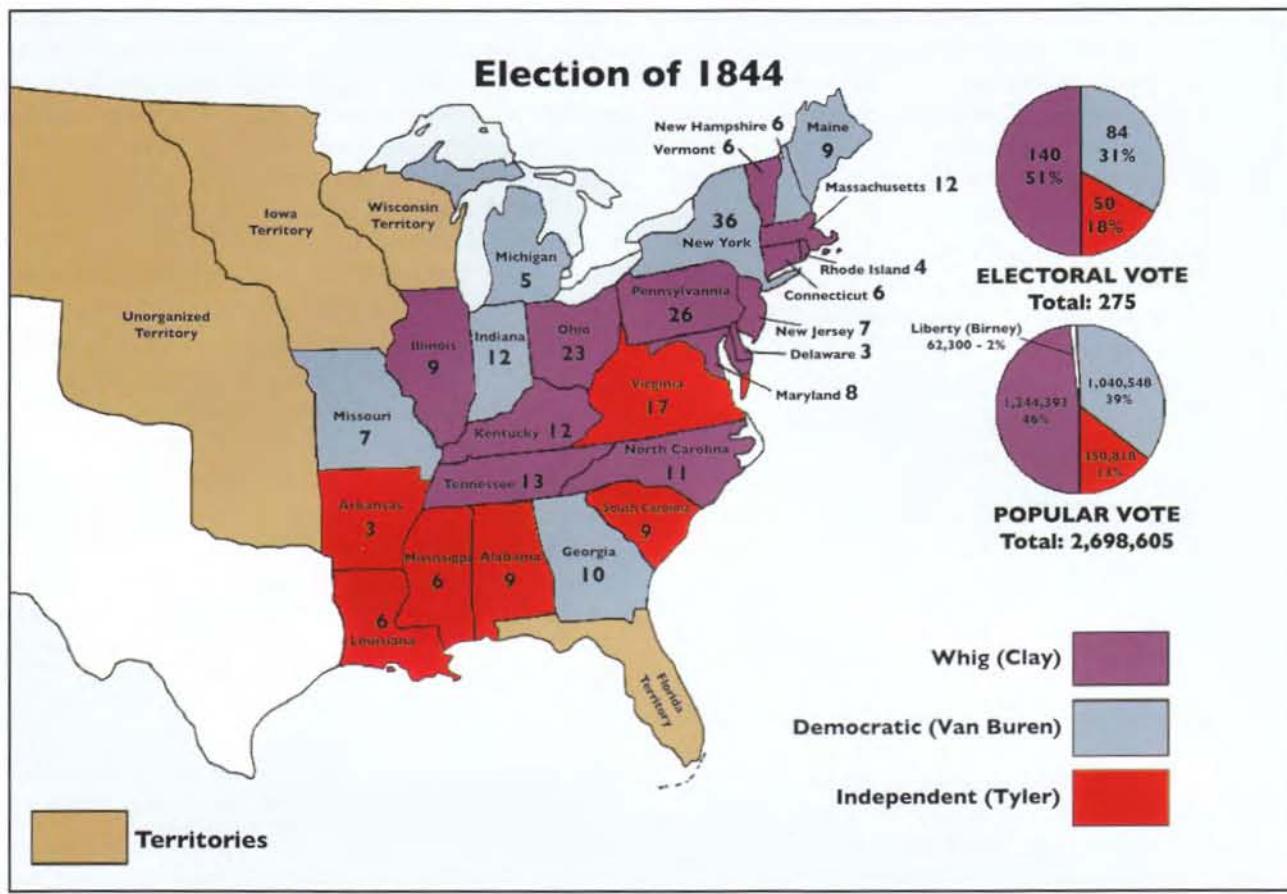
Despite an oratorical masterpiece of an inaugural address, President Harrison's administration was beset by internal disunity as would be expected in a party composed of disparate factions headed by a chief executive whose political ability was held in low regard. Nonetheless, during the 27th Congress he signed into law several important pieces of legislation sponsored by the Whigs including the rechartering of the Bank of the United States and stiffer protective tariffs whose revenue was earmarked for federally sponsored communication projects (subsidies for railroad and canal-building corporations).

This nationalistic economic policy (known as the "American System") would be a source of future political friction. Northern manufacturers and merchants were clearly the chief beneficiary of such policies in that their fledgling enterprises were guaranteed both profits and subsidized access to the rapidly developing markets of the interior. Southern plantation owners had little need for infrastructure improvements as the most productive land was already within easy reach of the seaports from which their cotton was shipped to markets in Europe. Further inflaming matters was the fact that their tax burden was disproportionately severe. As tariffs were structured along mercantilist lines of discouraging imports, the southern states, with less than half of the nation's population, were contributing over three-quarters of the funds available to the national treasury.

The Whigs' activist economic program was quickly challenged by both increasing economic prosperity and democratic dissension that led to a disastrous showing in the 1842 congressional elections in which they lost control of the House.

Harrison's pledge, "Under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term" ensured that little of substance would be accomplished during his remaining time in office. Aspirants to the presidency began to mark out positions. Vice-President John Taylor advocated for the annexation of Texas much to the chagrin of both Harrison and Clay. Although the proposition was untimely, for it surely would have been defeated in the Senate had it been brought before that body, it forced the Whigs to evoke the name of their nemesis Andrew Jackson in stating that was and continues to be the policy of the United States not to engage in armed conflict with the Republic of Mexico. Tyler, after four years of ineffectually working against Whig policies, finally severed his ties with the party and returned to the Democratic camp.

As the Democrats convened their May 1844 presidential convention in Baltimore, the expected candidate was former President Van Buren. The question of Texas annexation had, however, by this time gained a significant following, especially among southern delegates. These delegates reinstated an old rule that required a two-thirds majority for nomination, which threatened to render it impossible for the anti-annexation platform to be adopted. Van Buren didn't receive the required two-thirds vote until the seventh ballot.



AROOSTOOK WAR

The Treaty of Paris, which concluded hostilities between the British crown and her American colonists, was an inexact document that left a number of borders along the Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence seaway open to interpretation.

The subsequent War of 1812 and the U.S. purchase of the Louisiana territory from France would bring these border issues to the forefront.

In 1820, the state of Maine was formed from the discontiguous northern portion of Massachusetts. Eager to assert their territorial claims, the puerile Maine legislature began granting settlement claims north of the St. John's river in British claimed territory already inhabited by Acadians. Not wishing to engage in a third conflict with America, Britain sought to settle the issue diplomatically. The U.S. Senate, perhaps with an eye to making another attempt to wrest Canada, chose to ignore this attempted rapprochement.

The issue reached a crisis point in late 1837, when New Brunswick officials arrested a Maine census taker. Maine reacted by dispatching a company of militia to enter the disputed territory and establish a fort along the Aroostook river. New Brunswick, fearing another American invasion, mobilized her militia and called for British aid from regular troops stationed in Quebec while Maine called up several thousand of her own militia to press her claims.

Though General Winfield Scott, commander of the US Army, hastened north to mediate a compromise before the beligerent Mainers dragged the United States into war, he arrived

too late to prevent another blow to American pride. Shooting had begun between the two militia forces in early 1838, perhaps catalyzed by liquor. Once initiated, a series of skirmishes quickly followed in the Aroostook and St. John valleys.

The U.S. was at a considerable disadvantage, for Maine had no good route into the territory while the British regulars, supplied along the Halifax road, repeated the trouncing given American militia soldiers in the War of 1812 when they last attempted an invasion of Canada.

By the summer of 1839, the British were in firm control of the region, as well as the nearby disputed area of northern New Hampshire known as "Indian Stream". Their case made, they then agreed to formal negotiations to settle the various border issues once and for all.

In November 1839, an agreement was reached known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Having judged the terms concluding the War of 1812 too generous in having returned all pre-war territory, the British presented the Americans with a border that granted the Aroostook valley to New Brunswick, the Indian Stream region to Quebec and the Mesabi Hills region along Lake Superior to Ontario.

Though humiliating to the brash Americans, they could at least console themselves that Britain had not pressed her claims further as well she could have. Soon though, the dreams of acquiring more territory would become forgotten as the United States struggled to retain her domestic integrity.

In the wake of the divisive Democratic convention, former Vice-President John Tyler presented himself as a third party candidate that would be supportive of the annexation of Texas. Sizeable numbers of southern democrats feeling spurned by their party, rallied behind his banner. The Whigs unanimously chose Henry Clay as their candidate despite his having lost two prior presidential elections.

Another candidate of historical interest was Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The effort was aborted in June when Smith was murdered along with his brother Hyrum in Illinois.

The campaign itself was a sordid affair. Tyler's candidacy inflamed sectional rivalries and newspapers made no small show of partisanship by vociferously denigrating the character of all but their chosen man. The late entrance of yet another third party candidate, the abolitionist James Birney, truly exposed the growing discontent within each of the major parties that Van Buren and Clay had both attempted to conceal.

The 1844 presidential election ended with Henry Clay amassing a mere 50.9% of the electoral college. The popular, or unpopular as some newspapers groused, vote was closer still. Clearly Tyler's candidacy had given the election to the Whigs as they won the states of Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Illinois with barely over forty percent of the popular vote. The democratic party had been split along sectional lines, a rift that would soon widen.

Although the question of Texas annexation had ironically enough made possible his presidency, Clay clearly saw the danger in allowing this matter to fester in the American body politic. Not only had it engendered palpable ill will among southerners but it also served as a rallying point for the growing abolitionist movement in the northeast. This vexing issue to which no compromise could likely be brokered between increasingly entrenched interests had to be settled. Although a "war hawk" in his youth, Clay had known for years that annexation would provoke an unnecessary and costly war with Mexico, one he felt the nation was wholly unprepared for. The humbling experience of the Aroostook War was still fresh in his mind and so he sought a diplomatic remedy.

In April 1845, Daniel Webster was dispatched to Mexico City to join his British and French counterparts in negotiating an end to the war that had been dragging on for over a decade. Webster informed the Mexican government that the United States was prepared to recognize Texas as an independent Republic and to hereafter dispense with any notion of annexation. This promise was however contingent on the Republic of Mexico settling all claims on the territory and formally recognizing her sovereignty.

On June 23, 1845, Mexico signed the Smith-Cuevas treaty recognizing Texas independence. On July 4, 1845 the Texas Senate, its hopes of annexation now forever dashed, accepted the Smith-Cuevas treaty (8-6). The Republic of Texas was now formally at peace with Mexico.

Freed of these international distractions, Clay was now able to turn his attention to domestic matters. Many of America's territories were quickly growing and had reached the state of political maturity that a generation ago would have guaranteed them statehood. Maintaining the delicate balance between free and slave states, however, would be more difficult than ever. Glancing at a map of the unorganized western territories, it was clear that the nation's future growth would be to the north and west, territory designated as future free states under the Missouri compromise.

For the time being, the admission of Florida would be paired with Iowa as the two states joined the union on March 15, 1845 and December 12, 1846 as the 27th and 28th states respectively.

On February 1, 1848, Wisconsin ratified its state constitution and petitioned to join the union. Southern congressmen openly balked at the idea of another free state. When a representative from the territory addressed the congress and demonstrated that not only does the territory have greater population but also a more mature civic structure than states now in the union, South Carolinian Senator John Calhoun sarcastically announced that, "then perhaps the more fortuitous course of action to present to this body would be to seek recognition of your national sovereignty, a approbation we gentlemen have of late graced with greater aplomb than statehood."

Notwithstanding Calhoun's block's intransigence, Clay set to work building a quorum that would ratify Wisconsin's admission. Various compromises were offered including the admittance of Kansas as a slave state (an idea vehemently opposed in the North, as it clearly violated the Missouri compromise and would set a precedent for the entire western territories to be opened to slavery) and the purchase of Cuba (to be earmarked as a slave state) from Spain. It was the latter that gained the tacit approval of key Southern leaders who indicated their willingness to approve the Wisconsin petition if this feat could be accomplished.

Clay directed his Secretary of State Daniel Webster to confer with the United States Ministers to Spain, France and Great Britain in order to decide if it was feasible to persuade Spain to sell Cuba to the States, while avoiding dissonances with France and Great Britain. The four men came together at Ostend, Belgium in the summer of 1848.

The British were to extract a price for their cooperation. Since 1818, they had engaged in a joint occupation of the Oregon Territory. In the early 1840s as large numbers of numbers of American settlers poured into the disputed area over the Oregon Trail, their position weakened. Rather than waiting for the inexorable tide of American settlement to transform the territory into a de facto American possession, the British wanted to see the southern boundary of British Columbia established at the Columbia River and based their claims on the Hudson's Bay Company's long history in the area.

In return for British aid in securing Cuba, Webster agreed to the Oregon Treaty. Senate ratification was, however, contingent on a successful conclusion to the negotiations with Spain.

Having secured Britain's assistance, they publicly issued their deliberations in August of the same year. The diplomats proposed to threaten Spain with the invasion of Cuba, if Spain was not willing to sell the island to the United States. The document, known as the Ostend Manifesto, caused enormous disturbances and served as a new rally cry for the growing abolitionist movement in the North.

On September 30, 1848, after tense saber-rattling on the part of the US (from which Clay would have backed down if his bluff were called), Queen Isabella II, her position already weakened by the Carlist Wars and the implicit threat posed by a powerful British squadron moored at Gibraltar, decided against war and a treaty was negotiated wherein the USA would purchase the island of Cuba for \$100 million. The new territories were to be granted statehood as soon as a constitution could be drawn up. The constitutional congresses for the territory was little more than a charade as wealthy Southern aristocrats hastily emigrated to the island and subsequently dominated its body. Much of this was overlooked as President Clay left office with a legacy of having preserved the Union.

THE ELECTION OF 1848: DEATH KNEEL OF THE REPUBLIC

In failing health, Henry Clay declined to consider another term (he would die in the summer of 1849). In his stead, the Whigs chose Daniel Webster as their candidate despite his poor showing in the election of 1836. Millard Fillmore received the party's nomination as Vice President.

The Democrats were determined not to repeat their missteps of 1844 by adopting either a divisive candidate or platform. In so doing they chose the bland Lewis Cass, a former Governor and Senator from Michigan. He advocated "popular sovereignty" on the slavery issue, meaning that each territory should decide the question for itself. Jefferson Davis, the junior Senator from Mississippi, was chosen as the vice presidential candidate. Despite their best efforts at unity, the Democratic Party would once again experience a split – only this time from their Northern ranks.

Both of the major parties hoped to avoid the slavery issue's divisiveness in 1848. This proved impossible with the emergence of abolitionist political parties. The Liberty Party, which had some success on with an anti-slavery platform in 1844, intended to run again in 1848. Defections from the major parties would, however, subsume the party's agenda under a new and more potent banner.

The New York Democratic Party had already fractured along abolitionist lines in 1847. The radical 'Barnburner' faction, together with delegations from Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio and Illinois, met in Utica, NY on June 22 to nominate their own candidate for President – Martin

Van Buren. The convention then called for another national convention to unite the country on a Free-Soil basis. This was scheduled for August 8.

Meanwhile, the ambiguous stance towards slavery taken by the Whig party led so-called "Conscience Whigs", prominent among them William H. Seward, Schuyler Colfax, Charles Sumner, Salmon P. Chase and Horace Greeley, to call the People's Convention of Friends of Free Territory in Columbus, Ohio on June 27. Calling themselves the Free Whig Party, they nominated Thomas Corwin as their presidential candidate.

During the lull after the breakaway conventions, Van Buren made overtures to Senator Seward seeking his support. He argued that the Whig and Democrat splinters were pursuing the same goals and that to run candidates in parallel would simply dilute their potential strength. Since he [Van Buren] had previously been chief executive, it would only make sense for him to lead the ticket. He was, however, mindful of the Conscience Whigs' objectives and would do all in his power to see their positions incorporated, even going so far as to adopt their candidate as his vice president.

When the free soilers met for their national convention in August, Van Buren's work appeared to have been fruitful. Seward and the Conscience Whigs were present as well as representatives from the Liberty party and their National Reform allies. Much effort was spent by Van Buren in reigning in the more radical elements of the barnburners so as to create a unified platform to which all of the parties could unite behind. In the end the Free Republic party (as they finally agreed upon calling themselves) offered a platform opposing any further spread of slavery, abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as well as support for infrastructural improvements to be paid by continuation of the high tariff policy.

While Webster and Cass refused to acknowledge their breakaway kin and conducted a wholly civil campaign whose blandness was in stark contrast to the raucous election of 1844, the Free Republicans felt no need to be so encumbered. Through Greeley's *New Yorker* and Colfax's *St. Joseph Valley Register*, the Free Republicans launched a constant barrage of attacks on the main parties seeking to inflame fears that Kansas, Nebraska and even Minnesota could become slave states. To Greeley's eastern audience this was preached with moral overtones, while Colfax's Indiana press played to the fear that the west would be dominated by slave-run plantations whose owners would crowd out any opportunity that free men would have to make a fresh start in virgin lands.

This inflammatory campaign served Cass better than it did Webster. Anti-abolitionism was a stronger force among Democratic voters, and the New Englander Webster obliquely suffered from anti-Republican rhetoric, especially in the South. While the Free Republicans only managed to win one state, in itself a remarkable achievement for the party (though they did so by the barest of margins winning only 36 percent of the popular vote in that state), this fact

denied Cass a majority in the electoral college. For the first time in the history of the Republic, its President would be selected by a vote of the House of Representatives. Cass, having won 16 of the 28 states, easily collected the required majority (each state casting only one vote) and thus was declared victorious.

On March 5, 1849 Lewis Cass was sworn in as the 11th President of the United States. His inaugural address might have gone unnoticed save for the fact that he chose this occasion to confirm to the nation the rumors that had been steadily making their way eastward over the past months. Gold had been discovered in California. This was no small find. Indeed, thousands of miners were already pulling fortunes from the hills around San Francisco. The fledgling California Republic had petitioned for statehood and now was the time to take decisive action lest this bounty of nature fall prey to other national interests.

THE CALIFORNIA QUESTION

That California should be admitted to the Union was a question beyond reproach. Within a week of taking office, a squadron of warships was embarked for the dangerous voyage around Cape Horn to California. Formal diplomatic notice was given to both Mexico and Texas that it was the will of the Californian people to join the United States and all measures necessary to enforce this will would be employed.

Formal annexation would take some time with California having yet to adopt a constitution and formally petition for admission. In the meantime, the admission of Wisconsin, tabled for over a year, could be resolved now that Cuba had been acquired. On April 15, 1849, Wisconsin was admitted as the 29th state. A month later, Cuba was admitted as the 30th.

California presented some other difficulties. She was technically still at war with Mexico (who still regarded her as a rebellious territory). Cass' Secretary of State, Joe Duke, was sent to Mexico City to negotiate a peace treaty. The Mexicans, realizing that California was lost, were willing to accept the line 36° 30' N as the southern border of the territory (a line that would clearly mark the territory as a free state by virtue of the Missouri compromise). However, they voiced great concerns over the new settlements around the Great Salt Lake and the rumors of impending recognition of the settlers by Washington. In return for America declaring the Mormons to be illegal squatters on sovereign Mexican territory and formal recognition of the northern border of Alta California to be 42° N, the Mexicans would sign the treaty. On May 3, 1849, the Treaty of Monterey was signed formalizing the agreement.

In June, California ratified a state constitution and sent representatives to formally petition for admission. Initial gold-fever enthusiasm had waned amongst southern legislators as they realized that California would clearly be admitted as a free state. With no ready slave state to balance out

California, southerners were unwilling to consider statehood or even admission as a territory for they knew it would simply be a matter of a few years before such a territory would simply have to be admitted to statehood.

The matter was an open filibustering sore. Southern Senators had dug in their heels and were prepared to wait forever if necessary. Senator Calhoun of South Carolina even dared to go so far as to broach the subject of secession.

Another related matter stood on the congressional agenda. The organization of the vast Platte River valley west of Iowa and Missouri was overdue. As an isolated issue, territorial organization of this area was not problematic. It was, however, irrevocably bound to the bitter sectional controversy over the extension of slavery into the territories. Under no circumstances would proslavery Congressmen allow a free territory west of Missouri. The West was expanding rapidly and territorial organization, despite these difficulties, could no longer be postponed. Four attempts to organize a single territory for this area had already been defeated in Congress, largely because of Southern opposition.

To break the impasse, Cass proposed to organize the Platte River valley into several smaller territories. Three territories would be formed South of the Platte River: Kansas, Arapahoe and Colorado. To the north and bounded by the Missouri river two additional territories, Nebraska and Ogallala, would also be created. Additionally, the balance of the old Iowa territory would form the new Minnesota territory. These "New Territories" would decide the question of slavery for themselves. The obvious inference—at least to Southerners—was that many of the territories would be admitted as slave states to maintain the fragile balance of slave and free states.

After weeks of cajoling, the California Act was signed into law. Through this measure the U.S. Congress established the new territories of Kansas, Nebraska, Ogallala, Arapahoe, Minnesota and Colorado and admitted California as the 31st state. The bill contained the provision that the question of slavery should be left to the decision of the territorial settlers themselves. This was the compromise principle upon which Cass campaigned called popular sovereignty. The California Act flatly contradicted the provisions of the Missouri Compromise (under which slavery would have been barred from all of these territories); indeed, an amendment was added specifically repealing that compromise. This latter aspect of the bill in particular enraged the anti-slavery forces, but after weeks of bitter debate in Congress, President Cass and the Southerners saw it adopted. Its effects were anything but reassuring to those who had hoped for a peaceful solution. The popular sovereignty provision caused both pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces to marshal strength and exert full pressure to determine the "popular" decision in Kansas in their own favor. The result was the tragedy of "bleeding" Kansas. Northerners and Southerners were aroused to such passions that sectional division reached a point that precluded reconciliation.

The reaction from the Abolitionists was immediate. Eli Thayer organized the New England Emigrant Aid Company, which sent settlers to Kansas to secure it as a free territory. By the spring of 1850, approximately 1,200 New Englanders had made the journey to the new territory, armed to fight for freedom. The abolitionist minister Henry Ward Beecher furnished settlers with Sharps rifles, which came to be known as "Beecher's Bibles."

Rumors had spread through the South that 20,000 New Englanders were descending on Kansas. To blunt this move, thousands of Southerners, mostly from Missouri, poured over the line to vote for a proslavery congressional delegate in July 1850. Only half the ballots were cast by registered voters, and at one location, only 20 of over 600 voters were legal residents. Predictably, the proslavery forces won the election.

On November 4, 1850, another election was held to choose members of the territorial legislature. The Missourians, or "Border Ruffians" as they were called by their opponents, again poured over the line. This time their influence resulted in 6,307 actual ballots cast from a population of 2,905 registered voters. Only 791 voted against slavery.

The new state legislature enacted what Abolitionists called the "Bogus Laws," which incorporated the Missouri slave code. These laws leveled severe penalties against anyone who spoke or wrote against slaveholding; those who assisted fugitives would be put to death or sentenced to ten years hard labor. The Northerners were outraged, and set up their own Free State legislature at Topeka. There were now two governments established in Kansas, each outlawing the other. President Cass chose to recognize the proslavery legislature as legitimate.

As the two factions struggled for control of the territory, tensions increased. In 1851, the proslavery territorial capital was moved to Lecompton, a town only 12 miles from Lawrence, a Free State stronghold. In August of that year, a three-man congressional investigating committee arrived in Lecompton to investigate the Kansan dual governments. The majority report of the committee found the elections to be fraudulent and reported that the free state government represented the will of the majority. The federal government agreed to follow its recommendations and altered its position to recognize the free legislature as the legitimate government of Kansas.

THE AMERICAN WAR, PT. 1: 1851-1852

With official sanctioning of the anti-slavery government as legitimate, it became clear to southerners that the "New Territories" will all eventually be admitted to the Union as free states. Their hope for Kansas, Arapahoe and Colorado to be admitted as slave states thereby balancing out California, Oregon and Minnesota was dashed. Already outnumbered by 16 to 15 and with the prospect of being outnumbered by perhaps 22 to 15 and with no clear possibility

of additional slave territory for acquisition, southern states decided to secede from the Union. South Carolina is first on December 3, 1850 followed quickly by Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Cuba, North Carolina, Arkansas and Virginia. These 12 states form the Confederate States of America. The slave states of Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware do not, however, join the secession. The following January, several western counties of Virginia vote to remain within the Union and sever their ties with the state government in Richmond. They propose to call their new state Kanawha and its admission to the Union is completed within five days.

President Cass declared these secessions illegal and federal warrants were issued for all legislative members of these states. General Winfield Scott, head of the US Army, was instructed to mobilize all forces under his command.

In early March 1852, rumors reached President Cass that the secessionist states were planning to hold a constitutional convention in Richmond, Virginia. Seeing an opportunity to end the rebellion in one fell swoop, and against the advice of General Scott who urged that more time be given to preparation, he ordered Federal troops to march on Richmond.

The US army had not fought a war since 1812 and it showed. The Federal army was minuscule and ill-equipped, with weapons obsolete by European standards. Scott was able to muster only 20,000 garrison troops to send to Richmond. The time required to mobilize even this meager force gave ample warning to the Confederacy that, in turn, mobilized local militia to form the infant Confederate Army.

Lieutenant General Edward Blacher was given field command of the Federal Army and tasked with the mission of capturing Richmond. He proposed a 40-mile dash across country to Fredericksburg. Such a maneuver would position the Federal army on the direct road to Richmond, the Confederate capital, as well as ensure a secure supply line to Washington.

President Cass approved Blacher's initiative but advised him to march quickly. Blacher took the President at his word and launched his army toward Fredericksburg on March 15. The blueclad soldiers covered the distance at a brisk pace and on March 17 the lead units arrived opposite Fredericksburg on Stafford Heights.

The Federals could not move south, however, without first crossing the Rappahannock River, the largest of several river barriers that flowed across his path to Richmond. Blacher crossed the river on March 18, despite fierce fire from Confederate snipers concealed in buildings along the city's riverfront. When the Confederates withdrew, Federal soldiers looted the town, from which the inhabitants had been evacuated. By March 20, Blacher was prepared to launch a two-pronged attack to drive Zachary Taylor's forces from an imposing set of hills just outside Fredericksburg.

".... Oh, I know where Taylor's forces are, and I expect to surprise him, I expect to cross and occupy the hills before he can bring anything serious to meet me."

The main assault struck south of the city. Misunderstandings and bungled leadership on the part of the commander of the Federal left, Major General Talley, limited the attacking force to two small divisions - Brigadier General Hilbun to lead; Brigadier General Smith in support. Hilbun's troops broke through an unguarded gap in the Confederate lines, but a corps led by General Clarke expelled the unsupported Federals, inflicting heavy losses. Blacher launched his second attack from Fredericksburg against the Confederate left on Marye's Heights. Wave after wave of Federal attackers were mown down by Confederate troops firing from an unassailable position in a sunken road protected by a stone wall. Over the course of the afternoon, seven successive Federal brigades charged the wall of Confederate fire. Not a single Federal soldier reached the line.

On March 22, Blacher ordered his beaten army back across the Rappahannock. The Union had lost 6,000 soldiers in a battle in which the dreadful carnage was matched only by its futility. Federal morale plummeted, and Blacher was swiftly relieved of his command. By contrast, Confederate casualties had been considerably lighter than the Union's, totaling only 2,500. Taylor's substantial victory at Fredericksburg, won with relative ease, substantially increased the confidence of the new Confederate Army.

At Washington, the scenes that followed the battle were disheartening for the Federal cause. The city openly avowed its satisfaction at the Confederate victory. The volunteers showed up badly after their defeat. Discipline was at an end; drunkenness and disorder of the worst kind reigned supreme. The gravest anxiety prevailed, at all events from that moment it was recognized by the Administration that the military problem was one for experts, and could not be solved by a handful of improperly organized three months' volunteers. This point would be driven home by the subsequent disaster in Tennessee.

In May 1852, Major General Wool, in command of the 8,000 man Federal Army of the West, took Forts Henry and Donaldson along the Tennessee River. At about the same time, Major General Worth and his Army of the Ohio were advancing through Kentucky toward Nashville, which was occupied by Confederate General Morgan's Volunteer Army of Tennessee. Morgan, sensing that Nashville had become indefensible in the face of this dual advance, chose to abandon the city and turn to the offensive, instead. His plan was to attack and destroy one of the two advancing Federal armies before they could link up. He chose to attack General Wool.

Wool had advanced his army to a place called Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, on the banks of the Tennessee River. Nearby was a small chapel with the name of Shiloh. Worth's Army of the Ohio was moving to link up with Wool, but they were still on the opposite (eastern) side of the Tennessee River. Neither side had any battle experience. In particular, the commanders on both sides had the Napoleonic opinion that defensive structures like rifle pits and trenches were unnecessary and demoralizing to the troops. As a result, the

Federal encampment at Pittsburg Landing had no defenses other than troops on picket duty, and very few of those. In addition, the generals in the Federal command staff were convinced that Morgan and his army were bottled up in Nashville awaiting Worth's attack. Wool was confident enough about the safety of his position that he left the camp and headed upriver for a meeting with General Worth. Unknown to the relaxing Federals, by late May 25th, Morgan had moved his army within two miles of Wool's forces, and was preparing for a surprise attack. The rebel force was close enough that they could clearly hear the drums of the Union Army beating and Yankee bands playing in the evening.

At the appearance of faint predawn light on April 6th, Morgan's 7,000 men charged screaming from the woods around Pittsburg Landing, driving the sleepy pickets back in confusion on the Federal camp. Federal units rallied here and there to attempt to hold back the attack, but many of the green troops simply fled the field, gathering by the river in frightened groups. Some even waded into the river in an attempt to escape the fighting. Units engaged in the fighting on both sides had little organization, and few combat skills, resulting in a fight that many described as something like a fierce, bloody riot. Despite (or perhaps because of) this confusion, the Union forces were able to hold back the Confederate assaults long enough for Wool to return, and to establish a defensive line along the river. Gen. Morgan halted the attack near evening.

By the end of the day more than 4,500 casualties of both sides lay on the battlefield. Many of the wounded would die without receiving any treatment, due to an inadequate medical organization. Some would die when the surrounding woodlands caught fire, a horrific scene that would be repeated in other battles in following years. Both sides were learning some hard lessons. As the sun set, the Confederates had failed to achieve their objective of driving the Union force into the river, but it appeared that they would be able to make short work of their shattered foes the next morning, May 26th.

Had Worth been able to link up with Wool's beleaguered forces, perhaps the result would have been different. However, the Union forces did not possess sufficient river-boats to permit a strategic movement of this scale. The result was a foregone conclusion. Outnumbered and overwhelmed, the Federals surrendered to Morgan's forces that evening. The overall casualty count had now risen to around 6,000 men of both sides and Wool's Army of the West was eliminated.

Worth's forces arrived two days after the battle. A feeble Union pursuit sent to pursue the Confederate army, was stopped by Morgan's rear guard. Worth was forced to return to Pittsburg Landing. After the battle of Shiloh, General Wool was roundly criticized in the press for being surprised at Pittsburg Landing. He doubtless would have lost his commission had he not been a Confederate prisoner.

Indian Territory Transformed

The only military success against the Confederacy during the first year of the war was ironically to be achieved by the Five Tribes of the Indian Territory and not a Union Army. In the wake of their successes in Virginia, the Confederacy moved to expand their territory westward. In August 1852, a force of 2500 militia from Missouri and Arkansas commanded by Colonel Daniel Johnston crossed the Mississippi into Indian Territory with the intention of capturing that territory for the South. Success seemed favorable, as in every village they entered the Indians fled from the militiamen. On August 23, Johnston's men reached Fort Eglah, a small garrison manned by Union troops. This was quickly captured at the cost of 16 men killed and another 43 wounded.

In the wake of the invasion, General Pleasant Jameson, Principal Chief of the Creeks, had set about organizing the defense of Muskegee. From his own nation and the neighboring Cherokee and Seminole tribes, he was able to muster nearly 2000 soldiers. Unbeknownst to their Federal overseers, in the intervening years since resettlement, the tribes had stockpiled muskets and rifles and now they would be put to good use.

An advanced guard was posted along the shores of the Arkansas River where two fording sites of the Texas Trail crossed that waterway north and south of its confluence with the Neosho. All river barges were withdrawn to the western shores to inhibit their capture and subsequent use by the Confederates. Meanwhile, Jameson set about organizing the defense of Muskegee. The flat open land dictated that the town itself was the only position worth defending and so his men positioned themselves within the building and awaited Johnston's forces.

Johnston meanwhile, after consolidating his forces, detached a group of riders to probe the Arkansas river crossings. These men were fired upon by Cherokee and Creek riflemen as they approached the far shore. Unprepared for such stiff resistance, the Confederates broke and ran. Of the 55 men dispatched, 14 were killed and another 20 wounded. When informed of the ambush, Colonel Johnston realized he had a fight on his hands and that the tribes were not about to simply concede.

Upon performing a proper reconnaissance, Johnston decided to split his forces in two and attempt a simultaneous crossing of the Arkansas above and below the Neosho. It was late in the year and the waters were low enough to permit men to march across, but in so doing they would be at a great disadvantage. Having no artillery, he would have to depend on his own men on the far shore to provide covering fire during the crossing. He hoped that by crossing at two points, the Indian force would be diluted and that the crossing could be accomplished with a minimal loss of life.

The river crossing proved less deadly than Johnston had feared. The Indian forces had concentrated at the southern crossing where they had previously chastened Johnston's scouts. Losses were significant but they allowed the northern element to cross relatively unharmed. This group was able to

take the Cherokee and Creek in the flank and disrupt their defense of the southern crossing. The militiamen, once they had closed with the Indians, set upon them with brutal savagery. Of the 196 men Jameson had placed there, only four escaped. Johnston's officers lost control of their men as they wildly hacked the dead and dying to pieces.

Once order was restored, the Confederates proceeded to march on Muskegee. From afar, the town appeared to be abandoned. This illusion was quickly dispelled once they approached within rifle range. From concealed points behind windows and rooftops, rifle and musket fire erupted. The 2nd Arkansas was in the lead and suffered devastating losses. Here, 135 men were killed including most of their cadre and another 173 wounded. The men broke under this barrage and Johnston signaled a tactical retreat to reassess the situation.

Rather than being discouraged by this setback, the militiamen, particularly those from Arkansas, were enraged and grimly determined to avenge their kin by burning the town. A plan was devised to approach the town from four directions avoiding the solid defenses in the northeast. The attack would be made under the cover of darkness so as to offer some measure of concealment from rifle fire. Johnston disliked the idea of attacking at night for it would make the already difficult job of controlling his often unruly force that much harder. However, he knew this would ultimately be a hand-to-hand contest in which organized fire lines would play no part, so he agreed to the operation.

At midnight the Confederate forces moved on Muskegee. The defenders were hampered by the darkness and could do little to stem the swarm that soon engulfed them. The town was soon ablaze and "Illuminated in the fires of an angry native god" as one survivor would later put it. The battle degenerated into a series of individual gunfights fought at arms length, the combatants using pistols, knives and even their bare fists. Both sides amassed appalling casualties as no quarter was given and many wounded men were left to burn alive in the fires from which they could not extricate themselves.

When day broke over the charred remains of the town, Johnston knew that he had failed. From his position in the Episcopalian church, one of the few buildings to have escaped the fires, he was informed that fewer than 700 able bodied men could be accounted for. Though they controlled the southern half of the town, and possibly isolated pockets elsewhere as sporadic gunfire would seem to suggest, he had not the forces remaining to secure the territory. It had been a Pyrrhic victory for although he had effectively destroyed Muskegee, the Indians were still capable of defense. His objective was to subdue Indian resistance and in so doing secure their territory for the Confederacy – a goal that was now clearly out of reach.

His only course now clear, Johnston set about extricating his forces from Muskegee. Along the sixty mile trek back to Fort Smith Arkansas, his forces incurred further losses as fresh Choctaw riders, belatedly answering the mustering call of General Jameson, harried his beaten troops. From his original force of 2,500 only 583 men returned.

Aftermath of the Battle of Muskegee

Stories of Union defeats in the east had made their way westward and from these reports it had become abundantly clear that the five tribes could not depend upon Washington to protect them from further incursions by the Confederacy.

The movement to secure independence for the Indian Territory began in September 1852, with a convention in Eufaula consisting of representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes. The representatives met again in September to organize a constitutional convention.

The Constitutional Convention met at the partially rebuilt town of Muskegee in October 21, 1852. General Pleasant Jameson, Principal Chief of the Creeks and victor of the Battle of Muskegee, was chosen president by the elected delegates from the several districts. The delegates decided that the vice-presidents would be the executive officers of the Five Civilized tribes. There were five Vice-Presidents: Principal Chief of the Cherokees, Douglass J. Jefferson; Edward H. Murray, appointed by Chickasaw Governor Frederick H. Johnston to represent the Chickasaws; Chief Green McShane of the Choctaws; Chief Elmer White of the Seminoles; and John Haskell, selected to represent the Creeks as General Jameson had been elected President. Sequoyah, named in honor of the great Cherokee, Sequoyah, was the name chosen for the new nation.

The convention organized a government for Indian Territory, wrote the constitution, drew up a map of the counties, and elected a proposed set of delegates to Congress. These proposals were sent to a vote by the citizens of Indian Territory and passed overwhelmingly. The delegation received a cool reception in Washington, however. Having already lost the South to secession, no one viewed kindly the aspirations of another region to withdraw from the Union. Douglass Jefferson, however, made clear in a speech to Congress that what the Nation of Sequoyah desired was to "...stand together with the United States as bosom allies united as partners against a common villainy. Do we Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Osage and Seminole not share a common ailment with the proud Union? Have these southern gentlemen not claimed dominion over lands that were our nation as well? Only recently have you felt the same loss that my people have endured for a generation now. Gentlemen, do not disparage this open offer of friendship and good will for in crisis times such as these a willing ally serves your purposes better than a conquered foe."

Jefferson had played a strong hand. The Union was in no position to spare the forces necessary to prevent the secession of the Indian Territory. The alliance he offered, however, could serve to force the Confederacy to divert some attention to the west and away from the important eastern front. It might also check advances into the western territories.

After vigorous, but ultimately pointless debate, there was but one prudent course of action – the United States agreed to recognize Sequoyah as a sovereign nation.

Election of 1852

The bloody disasters of Fredericksburg and Shiloh doomed the Cass administration. The debacle of Shiloh occurred just a month before the Democratic convention and a pall of defeat was in the air. When Cass stood to address the delegates, he was so loudly jeered that he could not complete his address. Not even the brilliant oratory of Stephen Douglass, finally chosen as their candidate, could alter their mood.

The Free Republic convention, by contrast, was a raucous affair. Secession caused many Northerners outside the abolitionist ranks to question the decades-long policy of compromise with the South. It had also robbed the Democrats of much of their strength. Within the confines of the shrunken Union, the dominance of the Free Republican seemed assured.

General Winfield Scott, having abandoned the now defunct Whig Party, addressed the assembled delegates on the grievous errors of judgment forced upon him by President Cass. The war had been waged rashly in hopes of a quick victory.

"Our foes are not the frontier savages so handily beaten during the past threescore years. Rather, they are an errant sibling schooled in the same military arts as ourselves. We are therefore matched by an opponent who is our equal in the field. To think otherwise would be to deny the lessons of Fredericksburg and Shiloh. He fights for his home soil and in that we are disadvantaged."

"Do not, however, believe that I advocate capitulation to the dissolution of the Union. I have spoken these words in the hope that you will appreciate the gravity of our common task. Our southern brethren, though they have withstood our martial efforts, are themselves disadvantaged. War on the scale we contemplate must be waged by armies wholly unlike those this nation now fields. These new armies must be raised, trained, armed and fed. This difficult course is not beyond us for we possess the capability to manufacture the rifles and cannon necessary to equip an irresistible army. The secessionists have not the means to follow suit and in that their downfall must lie."

The confidence with which Scott spoke and his assurance of victory led to a clamor for him to accept the nomination for president. He declined the offer, citing the need to manage the great task he had set before the nation. William Seward, with the backing of Scott, was subsequently chosen as their candidate.

Despite several noteworthy debates between Douglass and Seward, the election was a forgone conclusion. The electorate was in no mood for talk of diplomatic solutions. The South had committed the most grievous of sins, treason, and she was not to be lightly forgiven.

Seward carried all but the border states of Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware and thus became the 12th President of the United States.

An Armed Camp

Upon assuming office, Seward was faced with many difficulties. The most pressing, namely the formation of an expanded Federal Army, was ultimately the easiest to accomplish. With Californian gold flowing into the national coffers, the currency shortages that had so hampered commercial development in the past were solved. This alone could not provide the necessary financing so an income and various other taxes were instituted in 1853. These were, quite naturally, unpopular but the 'war fever' of the North was such that these elicited only passing grumbles.

Scott had advocated a naval blockade of Southern ports to starve her European cotton trade. If this were allowed to continue, she could simply buy the munitions that she could not produce herself. Indeed, Federal agents in Europe reported that large orders were already being placed with British and French arms makers. The Federal Navy, though, was woefully short of ships with which to effectively blockade Southern ports. Four heavy side-wheelers had been launched in 1850. The balance of the navy, however, consisted of sailing ships; line-of-battle ships, frigates, sloops, and brigs. Splendid vessels as they had been in their day, these ships were now obsolete as vessels of war. Despite their grave vulnerabilities, these ships were capable of interdicting unarmed merchant vessels and so were deployed outside the South's principal Atlantic and Gulf ports. The keels for six new screw frigates had been laid down in the last days of the Cass administration and orders were placed for another dozen. It would be 1854 before any of these new ships could join the blockade.

A more politically lethal development was the threat of recognition of the Confederacy by England and France. Both nations had sent representatives to Washington and Richmond following the military setbacks of 1852. Cautious of picking the wrong horse, they sat on the sideline awaiting a more decisive outcome. The CSA was, however, recognized by the Republic of Texas in February 1853. Though a small gesture on the world stage, it bolstered the Confederate cause for legitimacy.

SOUTHERN DIPLOMACY

Sympathetic ears in Maryland warned that the US was gearing up for total war. This was more than mere campaign rhetoric on the part of the Free Republicans. Already new armies were being formed throughout the North as a flood of volunteers flocked to the colors. More sensible members of the Confederate Congress knew that they could never withstand an onslaught of hundreds of thousand of Union troops. They might, with great effort, field a comparably sized army but they could not possibly hope to provide the rifles and cannon necessary to make it an effective force.

The Northern blockade, though still porous, was nonetheless beginning to make its effects felt. A few British firms had begun to trade exclusively with Texas. Seward had labored hard in courting Texas to remain neutral with the promise

that the United States would guarantee the accessibility of her ports to the European cotton trade. This was demonstrably proven in August of 1853 when a Confederate ship (the impounded revenue cutter Washington) attempted to intercept a British merchant vessel outside of Galveston. She was promptly set upon by three Union sailing sloops and burned to the keel.

Texan neutrality proved to be a boon for the young Republic. Shortages caused by the Federal blockade ensured that eager buyers paid handsomely for every bale of cotton that could be delivered to Galveston. Cotton acreage increased by nearly fifty percent in 1854. Sorely needed investment capital also began to pour into the country. British financiers, seeking a safe haven for monies once invested in the now warring American States, funded road and railway construction. The influx of quantities of British specie, especially the silver shilling, alleviated the need to depend solely on paper script and stabilized the economy.

The cotton dearth also benefited the Indian Nation of Sequoyah. The Cherokee people were experienced in plantation agriculture from their period of assimilation in the southeast. The demand for cotton stimulated a boom in the cultivation of 'white gold' within the young nation. They did not, however, have the ready access to markets that so benefited Texas. The Arkansas River was closed to them below Fort Smith so cotton had to travel by wagon to either Fort Worth, Texas or Omaha City, Iowa. This prompted the construction of an indigenously built railway line that would eventually link the United States and Texas.

Texan and Sequoyahan cotton fields could hardly satisfy the enormous appetite of the mills in Lancaster, New England and Fourmies. In an effort to provoke the British and French into action, "cotton bonds" were floated in London and Paris' stock exchanges. These bonds were rapidly bought up for they were redeemable in cotton far below the going market price. They were, however, redeemable only in the Confederacy. Given these economic incentives, individual ship captains ran the porous US blockade with general success but some were caught and their vessels impounded and crews imprisoned. Tension mounted between London, Paris and Washington over the course of the year.

In early 1854, Seward's extremely capable minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, the son of John Quincy Adams and grandson of John Adams, successfully brokered a diplomatic understanding. The cotton blockade was not as injurious to British financial interests as the Confederacy had wished. Sources in Texas, Egypt and India were able to fulfill much of the demand. Sober reflection revealed that Britain's economic relations with the industrialized North far outweighed those with the rural South, cotton notwithstanding. The Union was Britain's best customer, providing a large market for British goods and attracting large amounts of British capital as investments in railroads, lands, and securities. It also exported large quantities of foodstuffs and raw materials to the British Isles. The conflict had greatly stimu-

lated trade between the two countries. Hostilities would also have left the long border with British Canada vulnerable.

Great Britain was also very much a democracy and her politicians were subject to an extraordinarily free press. The party in power was as susceptible to public opinion as any elected government. With the Napoleonic war (1804-1815) and the Second American war (1812-1815), still fresh in the elder generation's minds, it may be fairly supposed that English people were tired of wars and the economic hardships they caused. No politician wanted to be the one to start another.

The same could not be said for France. In November 1852, a new plebiscite overwhelmingly approved the establishment of the Second Empire, and Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III. France did not have the same access to alternative sources of cotton as did Great Britain and her industries suffered accordingly. Napoleon publicly condemned the war that had exhausted "*one of the most fruitful of [French] industries.*"

Emperor Napoleon III sympathized with the South and while Adams was securing British neutrality, he took the step of recognizing the South as a belligerent and expressed interest in mediating the conflict. The North adamantly refused to consider the idea.

THE AMERICAN WAR, PT. II: 1854-1855

The North had spent 1853 rebuilding a vast new army and in April 1854 it would be employed. The first attack would be an effort to eliminate the Missouri salient.

The Army of Illinois, having formed for battle at Camp Jackson, marched, under the command of Major General Mulligan, on Jefferson City. Colonel Williams commanded the entrenched Missouri State Guard garrison of about 3,500 men. Mulligan's men first encountered skirmishers on April 13 south of town and pushed them back into the fortifications. Having bottled the Confederate troops up in Jefferson City, Mulligan decided to await his ammunition wagons, other supplies, and reinforcements before assaulting the fortifications. By the 18th, he was ready and ordered an assault. The Union troops moved forward amidst sporadic Confederate artillery fire and pushed the enemy back into their inner works. On the 19th, the Illinois men consolidated their positions, kept the Missourians under heavy artillery fire and prepared for the final attack. Early on the morning of the 20th, Mulligan's men advanced behind mobile breastworks, made of hemp, close enough to take the rebel works in a final rush. Williams requested surrender terms after noon, and by 2 pm his men had vacated their works and stacked their arms. This Confederate stronghold had fallen, bolstering Union sentiment and consolidating Federal control in the Missouri Valley.

Major General Riley's Union Army of the Cumberland mounted a simultaneous push into Tennessee. On April 7, they converged on the town of Hartsville in three columns. Union forces first skirmished with Rebel cavalry before the

fighting became pitched as the gray clad infantry arrived. The next day, at dawn, fighting began again around Beech Hill as a Union division advanced up the pike, halting just before the Confederate line. The fighting then stopped for a time.

After noon, a Confederate division struck the Union left flank and forced it to fall back. When more Confederate divisions joined the fray, the Union line made a stubborn stand, counterattacked, but finally fell back with some troops routed. The Confederate commander, Major General Booker, did not know of the happenings on the field, or he would have sent forward some reserves. Even so, the Union troops on the left flank, reinforced by two brigades, stabilized their line, and the Rebel attack sputtered to a halt.

Later, a Rebel brigade assaulted the Union division on the Barksdale Pike but was repulsed and fell back into Hartsville. The Yankees pursued, and skirmishing occurred in the streets in the evening before dark. Union reinforcements were threatening the Rebel left flank by now.

Booker, short of men and supplies, withdrew during the night, and, after pausing at Lebanon, continued the Confederate retrograde by way of Cumberland Gap into eastern Tennessee.

Command of the Federal Army of the Potomac had been given to Daniel Roberts after Blacher had been relieved in 1852. Roberts reorganized the army and formed a cavalry corps. This work had been completed by the end of 1853 but too late for that year's campaigning season. In April 1854, as part of the tripartite campaign, he was ordered into Virginia to bring the Confederate forces to battle and destroy them.

He wanted to strike at Taylor's army while a sizable portion was detached under Price in the Suffolk area. The Federal commander left a substantial force at Fredericksburg to tie Taylor to the hills where Blacher had been defeated two years earlier. Another Union force disappeared westward, crossed the Rapidan and Rappahannock rivers, and converged on Fredericksburg from the west. The Federal cavalry would open the campaign with a raid on Taylor's line of communications with the Confederate capital at Richmond. Convincing that Taylor would have to retreat, Roberts trusted that his troops could defeat the Confederates as they tried to escape his trap.

On April 29, Roberts' cavalry and three army corps crossed Kelly's Ford. His columns split; with the cavalry pushing to the west while the army corps secured Getmann and Ely's fords. The next day these columns reunited at Chancellorsville. Taylor reacted to the news of the Federals in the Wilderness by sending General Gideon J. Pillow's division to investigate. Finding the Northerners massing in the woods around Chancellorsville; Pillow commenced the construction of earthworks at Zoan Church. Confederate reinforcements under David Twiggs marched to help block the Federal advance, but did not arrive until May 1. The

Confederates had no intention of retreating as Roberts had predicted.

Roberts' troops rested at Chancellorsville after executing what is often considered to be the most daring march of the war. They had slipped across Taylor's front undetected. To some the hardest part of the campaign seemed to be behind them; to others, the most difficult had yet to be encountered. The cavalry raid had faltered in its initial efforts and Roberts's main force was trapped in the tangles of the Wilderness without any cavalry to alert them of Taylor's approach.

As the Federal army converged on Chancellorsville, General Roberts expected Taylor to retreat from his forces, which totaled nearly 115,000. Although heavily outnumbered with just under 60,000 troops - Taylor had no intention of retreating. The Confederate commander divided his army: one part remained to guard Fredericksburg, while the other raced west to meet Roberts's advance. When the van of Roberts's column clashed with the Confederates' on May 1, Roberts pulled his troops back to Chancellorsville, a lone tavern at a crossroads in a dense wood known locally as The Wilderness. Here Roberts took up a defensive line, hoping Taylor's need to carry out an uncoordinated attack through the dense undergrowth would leave the Confederate forces disorganized and vulnerable.

To retain the initiative, Taylor risked dividing his forces still further, retaining two divisions to focus Roberts's attention, while David Twiggs marched the bulk of the Confederate army west across the front of the Federal line to a position opposite its exposed right flank. Twiggs executed this daring and dangerous maneuver throughout the morning and afternoon of May 2. Striking two hours before dusk, Twiggs' men routed the astonished Federals in their camps. In the gathering darkness, amid the brambles of the Wilderness, the Confederate line became confused and halted at 9 p.m. to regroup.

On May 3, Twiggs initiated the bloodiest day of the battle when attempting to reunite his troops with Taylor's. Despite an obstinate defense by the Federals, Roberts ordered them to withdraw north of the Chancellor House. The Confederates were converging on Chancellorsville to finish Roberts when a message came that Federal troops had broken through at Fredericksburg. At Salem Church, Taylor threw a cordon around these Federals, forcing them to retreat across the Rappahannock. Disappointed, Taylor returned to Chancellorsville, only to find that Roberts had also retreated across the river.

Chancellorsville was considered Taylor's greatest victory, although the Confederate commander's daring and skill met little resistance from the inept generalship of Daniel Roberts. Using cunning, and dividing their forces repeatedly, the massively outnumbered Confederates drove the Federal army from the battlefield. The cost had been frightful. The Confederates suffered 14,000 casualties, while inflicting 17,000.

In July 1864, General Roberts proposed a plan for transporting his troops by sea to Fort Monroe (at the tip of the peninsula between the York and James rivers), and from there advancing on Richmond. President Seward, who preferred another overland advance, reluctantly agreed to Roberts' plan, provided that a force was left behind to protect Washington.

By August, Roberts had about 100,000 men at Fort Monroe. Rather than attempting to break through the Confederate line across the peninsula, he prepared to besiege Yorktown, the strongest point in the line. However, General Twiggs evacuated Yorktown just as Roberts had completed his preparations. An indecisive, though severely contested, rear-guard action was fought at Williamsburg (August 14) as the Confederates withdrew toward Richmond. The evacuation of Yorktown opened up the York River to the Union fleet, and on Aug 25, Roberts established his base at White House Landing about 20 miles east of Richmond on the Pamunkey River.

Late in August, heavy rains swelled the Chickahominy so that communication between the two wings of Roberts's army became precarious. On September 9, Twiggs moved against the left wing (on the south side of the river), where the lines extended to Fair Oaks, a railroad station six miles east of Richmond. The Confederate attack was badly executed in the ensuing battle of Fair Oaks (September 10-11). With the help of some divisions of II Corps, which had managed to struggle across the river, the Union left wing held its ground. The defeated Twiggs withdrew his forces to Richmond.

Taylor, commanding the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, mounted an offensive against the exposed II Union Corps in order to cut Roberts off from his base at White House Landing. Between September 26 and October 2, Union and Confederate forces fought a series of battles: Mechanicsville (September 26-27), Gaines's Mill (September 27), Savage's Station (September 29), Frayser's Farm (September 30), and Malvern Hill (October 1). In the battle of Malvern Hill, the Union troops repeatedly repulsed the Confederate attacks in some of the hardest fighting of the war. On the next day, however, Roberts, declining to take the offensive, withdrew to Harrison's Landing on the James River thus ending the Peninsular Campaign. Taylor had suffered the heavier losses, and he had been unsuccessful in his attempts to dismember Roberts's retreating army.

A New Ally

The victory at Chancellorsville and in the Peninsular Campaign, though they checked Union advances in the eastern theater, had been costly. Taylor had prevailed through excellent generalship and good fortune but in so doing his armies had been seriously weakened. Further incursions by such overwhelming forces would eventually prevail.

As if to prove this point, Union advances west of the Appalachians were proceeding apace. In July, the Army of

Illinois completed their capture of Missouri by destroying the fortifications at New Madrid thereby opening the Mississippi River down to Fort Pillow, Tennessee. Riley's Army of the Columbia had captured Knoxville and were advancing on Chattanooga.

As fate would have it, a diplomatic incident would offer the South a desperately needed ally. Confederate Ministers James Berry and John Phillips, on their way to France in October 1854, were "kidnapped" by a Federal gunboat off the French mail packet *Vergt*. The Emperor reared up and roared. Napoleon fired off an ultimatum giving Washington seven days to liberate the emissaries and apologize, or else.

While Seward and his cabinet debated their response, Confederate President John Hugh Means authorized his remaining diplomatic mission in France to make a secret offer to the Emperor certain to appeal to the dictator's desires for a return of Napoleonic glory. In return for warships, arms and French troops, the Confederacy would return the City of New Orleans and its surrounding county to the French.

When Seward replied that the Confederate Ministers would not be released as they were guilty of violating the Federal blockade, the die was cast. On October 23, the Empire of France recognized the Confederate States of America and announced that she would aid the CSA in her war of Independence.

When this news crossed the Atlantic, it appeared on the front page of every paper. All across the North, Napoleon and the French were vilified. Communities with francophone names voted to change their names.

In the South, the news brought a new hope and zeal to the war effort – except in Louisiana. The deal to carve off Orleans County had been concluded without their knowledge or consent. Rioting began almost immediately and a division of Confederate troops had to be dispatched from Mississippi to keep order.

The Louisiana state senate declared the act illegal and demanded its immediate reversal. When informed by Richmond that the deal was necessary to save the Confederacy, the Louisianans immediately voted to secede from the confederacy. Additional troops from Mississippi and Arkansas were dispatched to quell the insurgency. Northern papers had good sport in reporting the irony.

On December 1, a squadron of French warships approached the Virginia coast escorting a small fleet of merchant vessels. Though sighted by the Sloop of war Constitution, the venerable sailing ship offered no resistance to their passage. At Norfolk, the ships offloaded their precious cargoes of rifles and cannon. They were reloaded with cotton for the return journey to France. The ships of the line, Marengo and Algiers, along with their trained crews, remained in the Chesapeake.

As 1854 drew to a close, the situation was mixed for the Confederacy. She had held off all attempts at the invasion of her vital eastern coast. She had also gained a new ally in

France and access to the guns and ammunition she needed to survive. However, the situation in the west was deteriorating. Missouri, Arkansas and much of Tennessee were under Union control and Arkansas was being threatened by both a Union Army to the North and raiding Chactow and Seminole from the west.

Precious little could be done about this for much of her militia was distracted battling the rebellious Louisianans. If the war was to be won and her independence assured, she knew that she had to alter tactics and assume the offensive. Only by forcing a decisive battle and capturing Washington could she bring her enemies to the bargaining table before they slowly ground her down.

The Last Huzzah

On April 3, 1855, the invasion of the North by General Zachary Taylor, the South's Commander in Chief, had brought several components of his army into the vicinity of Gettysburg, in southern Pennsylvania. A general engagement developed, which endured furiously for three days. On the third, Taylor decided to attempt the envelopment of the Union right, while his fresh reserves under General Twiggs were to attempt a direct break through the Union center at Cemetery Hill. The former operation broke down, but the latter, in one of the fiercest actions in military history, succeeded – the North's line was penetrated and the commitment of his French reserves allowed Taylor to follow up Twiggs' charge with the rout of the Union Army.

Taylor's victory at Gettysburg did not itself immediately settle the issue. Further losses in the year would however bring the Seward administration to the bargaining table.

After a long, strenuous campaign through Missouri and Arkansas, General John Cadwalader had finally come upon the city that held the Mississippi River for the Confederacy – Vicksburg. Four times he had failed in attempting to bypass the city from upriver. After contemplating his alternatives for the campaign, Cadwalader finally decided to march overland to Vicksburg.

Cadwalader ordered numerous diversions to confuse Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, stretching the outnumbered Confederate forces into dangerously thin gray lines. After bitter struggles at Port Gibson, Raymond, and later at Champion Hill, Cadwalader was within site of his goal. Cadwalader's forces quickly surrounded the city and opened an extended artillery barrage.

At 10 a.m. on May 22, 1855, brigades from three corps of Cadwalader's army assaulted the city. A long bitter struggle took place and although the assault showed some success at first, the Confederates quickly restored their original lines of defense. The Union army suffered 3,199 casualties, while Pemberton's forces lost less than 500 men.

Realizing that the city could not be taken by assault, Cadwalader ordered his engineers to begin siege operations. The siege cut off all supplies going into the city and the con-

stant hammering of siege artillery drove many of the citizens into caves dug into the hillsides.

The siege finally ended when on June 15, 1855, a French force under General P.J.E. Bosquet arrived from New Orleans. His 2nd Division were veterans of years of combat in Algiers and their experience showed. In the Battle of the Yazoo Hills, the French routed the Union XV Corps that held open Cadwalader's vital supply lines. The Union forces, having suffered in excess of 4,000 casualties, were forced to retreat across the Mississippi River to Louisiana leaving their siege guns to fall into Confederate hands.

In the center front, Bragg's Army of Tennessee, after their defeat in 1854, had established a fortified line along the Duck River from Shelbyville to McMinnville. The Army of the Cumberland made two major assaults on the line during the summer of 1855 but were repulsed with heavy losses at the Battles of Hoover Gap and Liberty Gap respectively.

The war was now at a stalemate. Both sides had suffered grievous losses and war weariness was setting in.

In the North, the enlistment rate had fallen off sharply by August 1854. Further calls for men were adhered to by more than 400,000 men between May and July, but the rate in which they appeared became slow. So in August, Congress took the unprecedented step of authorizing a draft for states whose enlistment quotas were not met.

Northern response to the draft appeared wearing the ugly face of violence and angry protests in every state of the Union, with a telling illustration of this coming from New York City in July 1855. Much of the opposition to the draft stemmed from its inherent unfairness in one's ability to hire a substitute (only the rich men could truly afford to do this). Another issue was race relations. And much of this tension was centered in urban areas, the residences of the working class and immigrants. For instance, white workingmen listened to the oratories of folks like Democratic Congressman Samuel S. Cox of Ohio, who warned that the result of their serving in the Army would be to find "blacks filling their places" on the job.

New York City was a significant anti-draft center for other reasons. The anti-war movement had many powerful voices in the city, including its own mayor. The Governor, Democrat Horatio Seymour, had outwardly expressed his opposition to the draft and enumerated his reasons for it. Additionally, struggling immigrant groups, particularly the Irish, whose wages weren't enough to adapt to rising wartime inflation did not enjoy the thought of going to War to perpetuate their economic struggle. They also viewed the replacement of their striking longshoremen with blacks with great contempt.

On April 5, 1855, the first 1,236 names were drawn from a wheel to determine who would be drafted into the army. The next day as the casualty list from Gettysburg was being posted, the names of these draftees were listed in morning papers and posted around the city. It did not take long for chaos to ensue.

On April 7, the draft office at Third and Forty-sixth was set fire by a mob of angry draftees. *"Instead of putting out the fire, a fire brigade, angry that their jobs no longer entitled them to an official exemption [from the draft], joined the mob".* For four days the angry New Yorkers, mostly immigrants, rampaged through the streets targeting the chief of police and the office of the outspoken abolitionist Horace Greeley.

Aftermath

In the wake of increasing resistance to what was increasingly being seen as a futile cause, the Seward administration finally, in October, acquiesced to the repeated French pleas to negotiate a truce. Even though hostilities had ceased, the war had not. Both Confederate and Union armies began to entrench and fortify their positions. Northern Maryland became a no-man's land as a solid belt of fortifications was built from the Chesapeake to the Alleghenies.

Thirteen months later, the peace talks had hardly progressed. It would not be until 1857 when the Democrats came back into power under Stephen Douglass that a peace treaty would finally be signed recognizing Southern Independence.

Confederate troops occupied the Union state of Maryland while Federal troops still held Missouri and portions of Tennessee and Arkansas. Louisiana also disputed the territorial claims of the French government to New Orleans. It was agreed that territory in possession of the belligerent powers would form the boundaries between the two nations. The United States decided to move the capital to New York City and the District of Columbia was absorbed into Maryland as Columbia county.

The grant of New Orleans to France was an act of the Confederate government and the southern delegates felt they were in no position to declare the grant null and void lest they anger their French allies who had ensured their independence and whose financial and industrial backing would guarantee it. It thus became a domestic matter for the Confederacy to solve. True to their word, the Louisianans pressed ahead with secession and petitioned to join the Republic of Texas. The Texas Senate ratified this in October 1856 after a brief conflict known as the "Cajun War" illustrated that the Confederacy would be unable to hold the region by force of arms.